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By Professor DALE

WHO WANTS HIGH PROTECTION ?

MOTHERS' PENSIONS. --- WHAT THE BRITISH
LABOR PARTY WANTS

OTTAWA, LONDON AND SCOTTISH LETTERS

From Our Own Correspondents.

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA.

MONTREAL, MARCH 20th, 1920

Vol. 2, No. 12

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Labor's Views on Business Control

British Workers Demand More Say as to Actual Working Conditions Than They Have.

A conference, attended by 300 representatives of working-class organizations, was held in London a few days ago, under the auspices of Ruskin College, to discuss, from the working-class standpoint, the question of "Trade Unions and Output."

Frank Hodges, secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, presided, and said that they who were right up against the heart of industry knew the problems of output and how production affected the workers. He felt that by the manner in which those problems would be discussed by them they would give the lie to what had been said about Labor not being able to govern the country. They wished to try to find out what was at the back of the social disorder of which there was evidence. Superficially they seemed to be going backward instead of forward as measured by the progress of human happiness. The industry with which he was personally connected was characteristic of existing industrial chaos. It betrayed no order or system, or well-defined plan, but was haphazard and reckless.

J. T. Brownlie, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, speaking on "The Workers' Interest in Output," said that workmen were interested today in the apparent fact that if output were increased it would accentuate unemployment. But it did not necessarily follow if the output of the material requisites of life were increased in abundance that unemployment would follow any more than that reduction of output would solve the unemployment problem.

Why not have a shorter working day, he asked, with the same wages as before and with the same output produced by more men? Workmen were also concerned in regard to the control of industry. He personally stood for control of industry. The time had come when the workmen should have more control over the actual working conditions than they enjoyed today.

Unemployment Responsibility

The responsibility for unemployment could be thrown entirely onto the shoulders of the employing classes who controlled and organized industry. If the necessary reserve of an industry must stand idle why should it suffer, and the risks of the industry be shifted on to the shoulders of the workers? Unemployment was often due to defective organization and, if the employers were to be paid for organizing skill, there was no great hardship in asking them to bear the losses involved by the lack of it.

It had been said that Labor was

not fit to govern. When the time came for a Labor government to be in power there would be found men in the Labor movement who would come forward to assist in undertaking the great responsibilities and in administering the affairs of state, not in the interests of a dominant party, but in the interests of the people as a whole. He was anxious to hasten the interests of a Labor government, so that it could be proved to the world that those in the Labor movement were not unmindful of the important issues. They also wished to say to the workmen in France, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Germany that they were not unmindful of the claims of humanity.

Modern Methods Needed

Replying to a question, Mr. Brownlie said that it would be possible to increase the output of essential commodities without further taxing the physical energies of the workmen. It would be possible by the use of the most modern tools and the adoption of the most modern methods of workshop organization to increase the annual production and at the same time save much of the energy which was going to waste in consequence of obsolete tools and faulty workshops organization.

Sir Leo Chiozza Money, in opening a discussion on the subject, said that it was idle to tell the British workman that if he produced more at this time he made things better for himself irrespective of what was

taking place in other parts of the world and irrespective of what was produced. The strings of British industry were not pulled by the workers but by those who owned capital.

During the war there had been greater production in agriculture and in industry than ever before because all available labor had been occupied in the production of commodities essential to the prosecution of the war. The charge against capitalism was that it did not produce and that what was produced was badly distributed.



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WHO WANTS HIGH PROTECTION?

(By GEORGE PIERCE.)

MANNA is falling from the smiling skies at Ottawa. The place is fairly radiating with the lavish munificence and the prodigal generosity of our legislators. Hitherto it has been a very serious undertaking for any delegation waiting upon the Government to secure, even in a measure, the reforms which the weary, way-worn pilgrims to the shrine of Law and Order asked for. We have sombre recollections of important delegations of the past who went to Ottawa to "Pray" and who were shifted about from pillar to post, from nook to corner, from official to bell-boy, and from Ottawa back home, and the whole matter settled with the stereotyped, "We will take it under careful consideration."

Considering recent events the old Government has certainly undergone remarkable changes. To-day our law makers no longer ponder "in thoughtful consideration". You not only get all you ask for, but you get a lot more. This hospitable spirit of placing the country at your feet, so to speak, so abounds with unaccustomed benevolence that our suspicions are very naturally aroused.

Quite recently over 1,600 hundred trades union organizations signed resolutions asking for a scientific and advisory Tariff Board which they believed to be in the best interests of the workers of the Dominion. Some time later the members of the Canadian manufacturers' Association, representing some eight thousand industrial enterprises, were satisfied to ask for a similar Board. In the meanwhile the farmers have demanded a substantial tariff reduction. To our vision there isn't a single sickly, selfish soul meandering about anywhere asking for protective tariff in the old sense of the word. You might then imagine the shattering effect of Sir Thomas White's "Hurrah-Boys-Get-

Together" protective tariff speech in the House of Commons. Accompanied by a great blast of trumpets and the wild huzzah of the old guard, he suggested a National, Liberal, Conservative Party with the protective tariff as the keystone. We object to the short title of the proposed party. Why not make it the Unionist, National, Liberal, Conservative, People's, Menchevik, Socialized, Left Right and Centre Wing, Progressive Association of Canadian Parties? With this title properly safeguarded by copyright, it would be difficult for the opposition to secure a title without liability under the present copyright acts. When a party of such verbose dimensions proposes to give you a lot more than you ask for, then the time has surely come for the dead to turn around.

Neither the manufacturer nor the workingman, nor the farmer, is asking for such protective tariff. Still

IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE TO TAKE THE TARIFF OUT OF POLITICS, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE TO TAKE POLITICS OUT OF THE TARIFF.

Read the Railroader and learn the reasons why.

the Government persists in giving it to us. This gives us unimpeachable authority to become inquisitive. Why is it that every politician in the country is so strongly in favor of the old political tariff, three-ring-three card-three-shell "con" game.

If you bear in mind that manufacturers and workingmen do not want it and that the farmers are opposing it, then you will be startled by the insistence with which our lawmakers persist in advocating it. One reason why all interested parties are opposed lies in the fact that tariff battles are interminable. They never, never end. It is the history of the tariff wherever the tariff has been a political national issue. Labor does not want the old protective tariff. First, because it affords a monopoly which unscrupulous manufacturers have in the past used to the detriment of labor. Second, at each election time vast numbers of workingmen are thrown out of work, because of the business contractions that inevitably precedes a tariff election. Labor is equally opposed to free trade, because elections fought on the issue of free trade versus high protection bring about a similar contraction in business. Third, because labor is desirous of encouraging the establishment of Canadian industries, and because labor is also wholesomely interested in the development of such industries. Labor favors the establishment of a board the tendency of which will be to stabilize work, which is bread and butter and life to the workingman, because the

Tariff Board provides machinery which would check monopoly and will sufficiently protect the industries so as to assure their growth and development.

The manufacturer takes a very sensible and sane view of the tariff situation. It is a typical business view reflecting the common sense of our Canadian business men. Briefly it is this. One important and indispensable factor in business is stability. If Canadian business is to be rocked and shocked at each election in the tariff issue, then it becomes very difficult for the Canadian manufacturer to adjust his business to changing conditions. To illustrate. There is a tariff election in 1920. Protective tariff is the issue, but with the growth of the free trade movement, the reaction of protective tariff abuses, the manufacturer is unable to forecast conditions of future issues. He lives in constant fear of the future. The farmers' movement is a nightmare to him. The sum of his reasonings is this. He would much rather have less protection and more stability. He cannot possibly secure freedom from political anxieties unless there is a Tariff Board which will give him freedom from political interference by arranging tariffs that are based upon scientific facts and knowledge of his particular industry. All that the manufacturer desires is to be detached from political excitements and the tragedies of popular frenzy, to have stability with just enough protection to enable him to develop, in fair competition with foreign goods. This is all that the manufacturer seeks and his position is very logical and highly commendable.

Now we come to the prosperous politician. With a few exceptions we have never been able to secure a favorable opinion from professional politicians on this question of the establishment of a Tariff Board. In the name and the memory of Christopher Columbus, who also went on a voyage of discovery, who are our politicians attempting to legislate for in proposing the pot-luck policy of high protection? They claim to be the servants of the people, the mouthpieces of the masses, the spokesmen of the organized groups of Canadian society.

In proposing the obsolete and unscientific pot-luck Tariff System, we fail to identify the group or groups by whose authority our politicians are acting in trying to preserve this policy.

Since it is evident that they are not acting for the manufacturers, the trade unionists, or the farmers, the logical inference is that they are acting for themselves.

Know ye all, by this and many other presents, that for eons and eons the tariff issue in all countries has ever been the magic staff to smite the most obstinate business interest and the hardest-headed businessmen from whom money can be made to flow in a golden stream. Whenever an election loomed up ominous and threatening on the political horizon, when the salvation and the only port in the storm was money and lots of it, the Moses of our public life simply smote upon the rock. Bankers, merchants and manufacturers rushed for their cheque books and the workmen rushed to the polls, while the ship of state on the crest of popular excitement and universal dismay rode grandly into her anchorage. When the storm had subsided, the manufacturers sat up nights studying ways and means to recover the money spent in the election so as to be ready for the next one, while the workman got up early in the morning and bowed his back to sweat out the money that the big show had cost. The politicians merely bowed to the multitude in grateful acknowledgement while they blessed the rock and carefully deposited the magic staff for future convenient use. The manufacturers cannot put up a very strenuous battle against the continuance of this political comedy of errors, because they fear the machinery of the state, but labor can and will put up a determined fight, not to take the tariff out of politics, but to take politics out of the tariff.

Our attitude on this question is for the best interest of all Canadians. Through the medium of a scientific Tariff Board, we propose that manufacturers will be encouraged to develop and expand. We want the Canadian, so far as is possible, to fill his wants from goods that are made in Canada. We desire to be broad-minded and to give the fullest justice to all. For ourselves, we protest as the chief victim of each of these tariff controversies, against further exploitation at the hands of the monopolist on the one hand, and the politician on the other, who have made us the football of a very exciting but extremely distressing game. We are demanding for ourselves only the same justice that we are willing to give to others.

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Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From our own correspondent)

THE outstanding event of last week was the dramatic intervention of Sir Thomas White in the debate. Some hold the theory that he was nettled by the aspersions cast upon his financial policy by Mr. Crerar and Dr. Clark, but the more general view is that a deeper purpose lay behind it. While the Coalition is being buoyed up with the hope that Sir Robert Borden will return to his task, the directors of its destinies are thoroughly alive to the necessity of having an available successor in reserve. The politicians and party experts may hold discussions and talk bravely about how they will elect their favorite candidates, but in the end, the choice of the Coalition leader will be determined by the excellent gentlemen whose cheques will pay the Coalition's election bills, when the music has to be faced.

It is not in Ottawa that the real selection can be made but in certain boardrooms and clubs in Montreal and Toronto. And apparently the choice has already been made. It has been decided that no one can fill the vacant throne with such prospects of success as Sir Thomas. He has persistently professed that he considered the world of politics well lost for the chance of accumulating more money and that he was resolved, like the Shunnamite woman of old to dwell among his own people, the financial interests of Toronto. But he is peculiarly susceptible to adulation and the same tongues which have acclaimed him as the financial saviour of his country, can overcome

his diffidence by assuring him that he is the only possible political saviour of his country.

The call has come, and Sir Thomas has answered it. His return was all carefully staged—Mr. Calder will move heaven and earth to foil the ambitions of Mr. Meighen, and his speech bore all the earmarks of elaborate preparation. Sir Thomas has now acquired the grand manner of an eighteenth century Whig nobleman, and if his tone is as intervals distinctly patronizing there is a certain attractive polish and grace in his speeches and he has a modest capacity for timely epigrams.

In the main his oration was a panegyric upon his own and the government's performances, chiefly his own. He explained away his borrowing propensities and his love for taxfree bonds, but his defence was distinctly superficial. And he carefully omitted to deal with the charge brought by Mr. Crerar and Dr. Clark that our levying of direct taxation had been shamelessly inadequate as the figures of New Zealand and Australia testify. He could make no defence as there is none. However, he waxed eloquent upon his financial administration, which he asserted was the admiration of Great Britain and the United States, and he claimed that we were in an infinitely more favorable position than any other belligerent, except our neighbor. People with unfortunate memories, however, recall that a few short months ago, when the veterans were pressing for further gratuities, Sir Thomas was summoned from his retreat to testify before the Parliamentary Committee, which was investigating the problem, and on that occasion gave a very gloomy picture of our financial position, which he said was "not dangerous, but serious". But then consistency is not a virtue with our statesmen.

The crucial point of his speech, however, was his clear-cut declaration for a tariff of the protective brand; no silly nonsense about tariffs for revenue for Sir Thomas. He is for the National Policy and wants to see born out of the womb of the Coalition a new National Liberal-Conservative party which will include the old Tory party and as many Liberals as care to subscribe to its creed. He was confident such a party would sweep the country. Of course, he hoped Sir Robert would return, but he managed to convey the impression that if he did not "Barkis is will-in".

The most amazing portion of his speech was a defence of profiteering which he said was necessary to keep the Canadian people at home

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interested in the war. If we have Sir Thomas as Premier, it will be a government "of the profiteers by the profiteers for the profiteers."

The weakness of the opposition was shown by their failure to deal promptly with Sir Thomas. They should have put forward at once their most effective available speakers to brand Sir Thomas as a creature of the "interests", challenge him on his facts, make clear the impending issues between reaction and progress and proclaim themselves the champions of advanced democratic policies as against his adherence to the statu quo. But the opposition leaders fear their own shadows on economic issues and Mr. A. B. Copp got up and lumbered along about the grievances of New Brunswick. Not till Mr. Lapointe, who has the best conception of democratic statesmanship in the House, spoke on Tuesday, was there any adequate attempt to state the Liberal case. In the interim, there was a repetition of the annual fishwives' squabble between Mr. Murphy and Mr. Rowell, which is now very wearisome to the parties of both the combatants.

There is a curious situation about the feud. The Liberals in general are very much annoyed with Mr. Murphy for continuing it as they think it damages them in Ontario, and the Tories are in the main delighted at hearing anything evil about the President of the Privy

Council. Mr. Murphy spoiled his case by reading out too many newspaper extracts, and Mr. Rowell as usual indulged in a lot of cheap emotion about the brave boys whom he had loved and served so well. He was rather unfortunate in his description of Mr. Murphy as a political Jack the Ripper. Naturally he would not be expected to know bygone criminal history, but it is a fact that all Jack the Ripper's victims were notorious denizens of the underworld, and here is a political underworld too.

The debate gradually petered out and closed with an excellent statement of the western farmers' case against the existing system by Mr. Maharg. Mr. R. H. Halbert, the first U. F. O. member in the House, had previously made his debut in a short speech. A division on the amendment was reached in the early hours of Wednesday morning, and the amendment was defeated by 112 to 78, all the Government supporters standing firm and the independents voting for an election.

On Thursday, the most important legislation of the session was brought down in the shape of the Franchise Act, which at a casual glance seems an unexpectedly fair measure and very creditable to the Government. The only requisites for the Franchise will be British citizenship, residence in Canada for one year and in the particular constituency for two months, and the attainment of 21 years, all conditions being alike applicable to male and female voters. If provincial lists are not more than a year old they will be used; otherwise Federal lists will be made, and, in any case, power is taken to revise the provincial lists before an election. There are various minor innovations, but on the whole there is an attempt to obtain uniformity and a fair and expeditious machinery. The disabilities imposed by the Naturalization Act persist. There is no mention of P. R., but its friends will probably introduce the subject by way of amendment.

On Wednesday, Mr. Ballantyne tabled Admiral Lord Jellicoe's report on our naval problem. It offers us a series of alternatives for spending our surplus cash on a navy. The schemes submitted vary from a modest squadron of three light cruisers and the necessary auxiliaries costing \$5,000,000 per annum to an elaborate fleet, for which we would be "soaked" to the tune of \$25,000,000 per annum, and which would begin with two battle cruisers. Almost needless to say, the latter is not suited either to the depth of our purse or the temper of the electorate. There are three other intermediate schemes, but it is improbable than any save the least expensive will receive consideration.

Many members even in the Coalition ranks are inclined to think the whole question should be allowed to stand over. People as eminent



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in naval affairs as Lord Fisher and Sir Percy Scott have declared that most of the existing types of warship are obsolete as the result of the development of the airplane and the submarine; new inventions and devices are being introduced every week into naval warfare and it would seem the height of wisdom to await till the experts can decide exactly what form the warship of the future is to take ere we are committed to any large expenditures.

Of course, our steel and ship-building companies are hungry for orders, and Mr. Ballantyne likes to be kind to them. But there is another more potent reason which will make for delay, especially if Sir Robert returns to us, as he now threatens to do in two months. During the naval controversy before the war, Sir Robert, anxious to placate his nationalist allies in Quebec, gave the most solemn of pledges that no naval policy would ever be adopted for Canada under his auspices without proper consultation of the electorate. And of anything which might precipitate the tragedy of an election the average coalition member has profound horror. Lord Jellicoe recognizes the principle of a Canadian navy, but he insists that it must be given a special Ministry all to itself and free from the contamination of the affairs of the ordinary mercantile marine.

On Wednesday, Mr. Burnham introduced a discussion about the high cost of necessities, fuel, etc., and made one of those fierce radical speeches which he exudes at intervals from a staunch conservative bosom. Mr. Meighen almost tearfully entreated him to leave out a paragraph in which he stated that high prices were leaving many of the people of Canada in a desperate condition on the ground that it would convey an unfortunate impression abroad. Mr. Burnham descanted at length upon the fuel situation and took occasion to denounce his pet bogies, free trade and prohibition. He was full of alarm for the future and had a foreboding that some fine day the mass of the people would take the law into their own hands. Mr. D. D. Mackenzie, who has sunk to the level of a "drummer" for Cape Breton, told the House about the merits of Nova Scotia coal. Mr. Meighen in reply made a very statesmanlike and informative speech; he is at best when dealing with some administrative problem, and he showed the difficulties of using the valuable coal deposits which we possess, owing to the fact that they are located at the extreme ends of the country.

Mr. Burnham pursued this effort with another motion in which he advocated the eight hours day taking as his chief argument the findings of the Labor delegates at the Peace Conference. He was backed up by Mr. H. H. Stevens and Mr. Mackie, of Edmonton, before the

House adjourned, at six o'clock. The discussion was resumed on Thursday, when the motion was fiercely assailed by a number of rural members. Mr. King also asked the Government if they had reached any decision about their jurisdiction in the matter. It will be remembered that Mr. Rowell, at the International Labor Conference, practically committed the Canadian Government to the support of the eight hours day and returned with a great flourish of trumpets. Later on it was semi-officially given out that the Department of Justice was inclined to think the Federal Government lacked power to deal with the problem. It ought now to have had time to ascertain the facts and there is a suspicion that the whole debate was carefully staged to convey the impression that the Coalition were ardent supporters of this particular reform and were only prevented by constitutional difficulties from putting it into effect. Mr. King missed an opportunity of assailing the Government on this point. Mr. Fielding, who cannot be classed as an ardent democrat, besought the Government not to press the matter to a division, and it was allowed to stand over. Mr. Verville explained the divergence in outlook and policy between the international unions which Messrs. Moore and Draper shepherded and the Catholic National unions of the Province of Quebec.

On Friday, in a discussion on the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act, Mr. McMaster raised the question of the interference of the police with a newly-established society called the Daughters of Canada, which has for its main object the creation of a Canadian National spirit. It has incurred the wrath of certain zealous Imperialists and a famous rival society, and a police officer was sent to one of the officials to demand particulars about it, a proceeding which savored more of Czarist Russia than Canada. Mr. Rowell's explanation was delightfully naive.

"A request was made to the Superintendent in charge of the police herein Ottawa for the addresses of the officials of the Daughters of Canada, and the police went to the headquarters where the Association met, at the Y. M. C. A., to ascertain the addresses." Is it usual to employ policemen to procure addresses which are wanted? Would not a letter to the secretary of the Society have produced the required information? The Minister had also some rather vague explanations about the withdrawal of books from the Regina library because they were seditious. The acts done under his auspices rather belie the sentiments expressed in his reply. "I believe in freedom of thought, opinion and speech as much as he does." An ounce of practice is worth many pounds of professions.

J. A. Stevenson.



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M. Barnes a Loss to British Cabinet

Hopes of "Roping In" Moderate Men in Labor Party Are Scattered to Four Winds by His Resignation From Government.

(From the Christian Science Monitor.)

London, England.—The most talked of political Labor event of the moment is the resignation of the Rt. Hon. George Nicol Barnes, M. P., from the government. The decision was not unexpected by his personal friends in the Labor movement who know the man, his worth, and his unflinching habit of keeping his word, of doing the things he promises to do.

The chief — indeed, the only reason — given by Mr. Barnes as to his refusal to leave the government with his Labor colleagues in the Cabinet, at the request of the Labor Party conference 14 months ago, was that as Labor had, with striking unanimity, decided to assist the government to win the war, as war could not be said to be over until the Peace Treaty was signed, and as the problems at the Peace Conference were of vital importance to Labor, he would stay in the government until the Treaty was signed. To use his own words in a speech to his constituents at Glasgow: "I was selected by the Labor Party to do a certain job and I am going to stay on until that job is finished." With his return from the Washington congress, the success of which owes so much to his energy and inspiration, the "job" has been accomplished, and it was simply a matter of time when his resignation should be announced.

Mr. Barnes' secession from the Labor Party was a blow to Mr. Henderson and his colleagues, but this is a much greater blow to Mr. Lloyd George, for any hopes that were cherished by the latter, and especially by a certain section of the press, of roping in those who were described as the more moderate men in the Labor Party has been scattered to the four winds. Not that there was any reasonable hope for the consummation of this procedure, although great prominence has been given to the idea from time to time by writers claiming inside knowledge.

No Disagreement With Cabinet

It is amusing to follow the glib people who, under various headlines which hint that their observations are written with Cabinet ministers at their elbows, are kind enough to let the public into the dark secrets of the day. One or two have essayed the opinion that there is a good deal more behind the resignation of Mr. Barnes than "ill-health or disagreement with his colleagues in the Cabinet," and that the real reason is that, with the growth of the Labor Party and the possibility of its being called upon to form a govern-

ment. Mr. Barnes intends to contest the position for the premiership with Mr. Henderson. In regard to the reported disagreement with the rest of the Cabinet, Mr. Barnes has taken immediate opportunity of denying this.

Throughout Mr. Barnes' whole career, as a trade union official, and later as a member of Parliament, he has led an active, strenuous life, but never has he worked harder or worked longer hours, or more conscientiously than during the period in which he has been associated with Mr. Lloyd George in the hour of England's greatest need. Unlike other ministers who are surrounded by advisers specializing on various aspects of the work of their departments, Mr. Barnes had the happy — or unhappy — faculty of doing things for himself, in fact of doing too much himself. Hence the desire for a rest. But when it is implied that behind all this there lie the ambitious dreams of a possible premiership, and when there is the hint of intrigue, then the only reply is that the writers do not know their man. There is not an ounce of intrigue in all G. N. Barnes' make-up.

Mr. Barnes' Career

It is 25 years ago since he resigned an official position in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers on a fundamental question and returned to the workshops. Later he was appointed general secretary of the engineers, and became prominent in the great engineers' struggle for an eight-hour day. But he will be remembered best as the foremost advocate of old-age pensions, concerning which he was universally regarded as one of the chief authorities. Housing, education, unemployment — to all has he contributed. While others were crying for the moon, he was concentrating on the practical things that matter toward making the lives of the most helpless in society a little brighter and more full of hope. Although he has now definitely severed his connection with the Labor Party, he is still held in high esteem by his erstwhile colleagues, who, as the result of long association, recognize how completely George N. Barnes has subordinated his personal inclinations to whatever cause he had set his heart upon.

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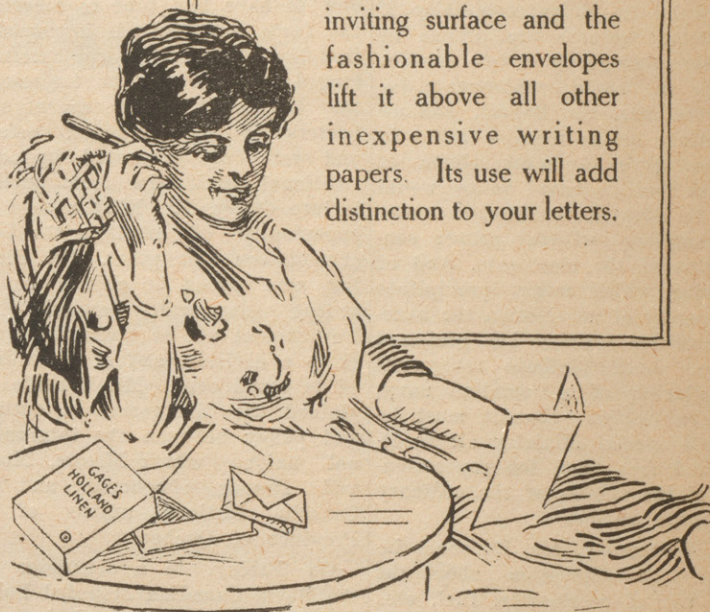
AIDING RAILROADER WORK ON TARIFF QUESTION

Mr. Walter S. Johnson, barrister, Commercial Union Building, Montreal, who has been making a special study of the tariff question for years, has kindly placed at the disposal of the Railroader a great deal of invaluable data, for which thanks are here expressed.

An article in the Railroader on "Portents of the British Political Situation," was taken from the New Republic. The credit to the New Republic was written on the copy and duly put in type, but in the assembling process was left out.

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OUR LONDON LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, February 27th.

Labor in this country is turning its attention more and more in the direction of foreign affairs, thus confounding those of its critics who frequently use the taunt that it has no international policy. This week Labor has published a pronouncement on the difficult question of the Turk in Europe.

The Labor Party is opposed to any discrimination between Moslems and Christians in the Peace settlement, and believes that the principle of self-determination, which it has advocated for the settlement of Europe, should also govern the settlement of the Middle East. It endorses the words of the fourth resolution of the meeting of Bombay Moslems assembled on September 18th last, that "no differential treatment should be accorded to the Christian and Moslem peoples and that the principle of self-determination which has been applied to the Christian peoples of Europe, should be made applicable to the Moslem peoples also."

On the other hand, the Party cannot follow the Bombay Moslems in limiting such self-determination by adding the condition "under the suzerainty of the Caliph." It believes that the Caliphate is a religious question which ought to be settled among the Moslems themselves, and that non-Moslem Governments ought not to intervene in it. It approves the declarations of disinterestedness in the Caliphate question which have been published by the British Government on several occasions since the beginning of the war, the more so as it understands that this question is a subject of acute controversy in the Islamic world. The Ottoman Caliphate is not acknowledged in the Shia denomination (which includes a considerable percentage of the Moslem community in India itself, and almost the entire population of Persia); by the Wahhabis of Central Arabia, or the Senussi of North Africa; by the Sultan of Morocco, the Imam of Sanaa, or the Sheriff of Mecca, who appears to have been prayed for as "Commander of the Faithful" by the Arabic-speaking Moslems of the Hedjaz, Palestine and Syria, who have thrown off Turkish sovereignty as a result of the war.

It is obvious that the Party could not, it declares, consistently with the principle of self-determination, ask the British Government to put any kind of pressure on these Arabs to place themselves again under the Ottoman Caliph's authority. The claims of the King of the Hedjaz to the Caliphate it regards as a purely Moslem question, and as Christian Powers ought

never to think of interfering in the religious controversy which divides the various Moslem denomination, so they ought not to interfere in questions relating to the Caliphate.

With regard to the application of self-determination to the various territories included, at the outbreak of war, in the Ottoman Empire, a distinction may be observed between: (a) territories where the desires of the people as to their destiny are already known; (b) territories where these desires have not been, but ought to be, ascertained; and (c) territories where the principle of self-determination is inapplicable.

A powerful protest has also been issued by the Party against the treatment of Armenia by the Allied Powers. In spite of Turkish atrocities, it is pointed out the Allies have left the Armenian provinces under the administration of the Turk. Labor makes these suggestions:

1. The entire region known as Turkish Armenia to be released from Turkish sovereignty.

2. The best settlement would be to place the whole region for a term of years and under certain conditions, under a single mandatory power; but it is recognized that if America stands aside, it may be impossible to find a country to undertake the task, in which case a division will be necessary.

3. The Party protests against any idea of sub-ordinating the Armenian settlement to considerations of Indian policy. The case must be settled as between the Armenians themselves and the local Turkish and other Moslem populations.

In Parliament Labor has been endeavoring to get passed a Bill giving pensions to mothers. The idea is that a widow with dependant children, a deserted mother or wife of an incapacitated man, with dependents, should be at least partially provided for by the State. The scales suggested were:

	Per week
Mother with one dependent child...	\$ 9.00
Mother with two dependent children...	\$11.00
Mother with three dependent children...	\$12.50
For each additional child over three dependent...	\$ 1.50

On the ground that the expenditure of public moneys was involved, the Bill was ruled out, but Labor has taken its stand on the principles and when the workers have a majority in the House of Commons, this is one of the measures which we may expect to see brought into effect.

A great deal of controversy continues on the question of whether

the system of payment by results is, or is not, beneficial to the workers. The National Federation of General Workers has declared in favor of the principle and the engineers are leaving the decision to district councils. The carpenters and joiners have gone flatly against it. Their society urges members to refuse to work on such a plan. Instructions have gone out stating that "All kinds of bonuses, whether termed time-keeping bonus, merit bonus or sums of money paid at the end of the week, in addition from the hourly method of payment, and must, therefore, be considered system of payment by results. Our branches and district committees must deal with members who accept any kind of business according to rule, and in some establishments where our members are employed on an hourly system, but where there are other trades employed on piecework or premium bonus, our members are still accepting a bonus which results from the efforts of other individuals employed on system of payment by results, and consequently are aiding in the continuance of a pernicious system which the majority of our members strongly oppose. It matters not where our members may be employed, whether in railway shops, engineering establishments, private factories, or private establishments of any kind, it is not permissible for them to accept any kind of bonus."

A steady stream of attack on the profiteers with which this old country abounds, is being directed by Labor men and women on the platform and in the Press. Indignation has been raised to white heat by the disclosures of a Government report on the virtual monopoly in sewing cotton, held by Messrs. J. and P. Coats. This firm is raising its price from 14c. to 20c. a reel, despite the fact that the report shows that, with a smaller output amounting to 20 per cent less in the weight of cotton in 1918-19 compared with 1913-14, the Coats monopoly made a net profit, after deducting excess profits duty and income tax, about \$18,470,000, an increase of 86 per cent; the percentage of net profits to the capital invested being 16.53 per cent against 13.55 per cent in 1913-14. Last year, the firm made a percentage increase in net profit of 168 per cent. In view of the fact that when Coats' were selling the reel of cotton at 14c. the combined cost of manufacture and sale was less than 8c., the sub-committee declares that the firm might reasonably be expected to have sold for the home market at a price which would have allowed retailers to sell to the public at six pence a reel.

All that the Government sub-committee can say in favor of the combine is that it has not taken full advantage of its monopolistic positions — which means that it has not plundered the public quite

as much as it is able to do; and that the excellent business organization of the firm enables it to sell cheaper than its principal competitor can do.

Railway clerks, who have for months been engaged upon negotiations for increases of pay and standardization of salaries, are today to reap the fruits of the Railway Clerks' Associations' labor. There are some 80,000 concerned and they will receive some hundreds of thousands of pounds in rises and back pay. One of the great troubles in this branch of our railway service has been that railway companies paid different money for the same job; so that a man working on one line might receive some shillings a week more or less than a man on another line. This anomaly is now being rectified. Station masters and agents will get their extra money in a fortnight's time.

The Labor delegates who went to Ireland, report that Britain should acknowledge the principle of self-determination for the sister isle as is admitted in the case of the self-governing Dominions, but that the constitution conferring self-government in Ireland should not be subject to revision by the people of Ireland until after an agreed number of years.

Either of the following alternatives they think would be acceptable to the majority of the Irish people:

1. A full measure of dominion self-government with provision for the protection of minorities, questions of defence and foreign relations being reserved to the Imperial Parliament.

2. That the form of self-government to be determined and decided by an Irish Constituent Assembly representing the whole Irish people, and elected on a system of proportional representation.

Ethelbert Pogson.

—:o:—

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Rejection of Direct Action

THE British Trade Union Congress, by a vote of more than three to one, has rejected the policy of direct action as a means of getting nationalization of the mines; that is, of forcing the government to concede nationalization by holding the population up through a national strike of miners.

On the day prior to the meeting of the Trade Union Congress, the Miners' Federation gave 524,000 votes for direct action and 364,000 against, or nearly two to one. Still, the minority vote of the miners themselves was big enough to give pause, and it would be interesting to know whether it played a part in the later decision of the Trade Union Congress, or whether the proxy votes of the Congress had already been definitely shaped in the various union organizations.

No word seems to have come through of the congress of shop stewards and guild Socialists which was to take place simultaneously with the Trade Union Congress; it would represent the more radical elements of organized labor, and its organizers have made the claim that it would represent the "rank and file" as distinguished from the "leaders". At anyrate, its decisions would have no immediate effect on the decisions of the Trade Union Congress, which represented 4,920,000 trade unionists and cast the final vote of 3,870,000 against direct action and 1,050,000 in favor. Nor would there, so far as superficial appearances go at least, be justification for the claim that the extremists represent the "rank and file".

At last year's Trade Union Congress the policy of direct action was put aside without any decision, the congress evidently being afraid to tackle it then. Since that time the proposition has been thoroughly considered, and the latest decision probably marks the definite abandonment of the plan for all time.

Apart from the moral issues involved, and they were serious enough, the strongest argument of practical politics against coercion of the government was that labor would be committing itself to a policy which it could not possibly approve

if a labor government were in power; it would have established a precedent which would end in its own ruin as a governing body.

Some writers link the defeat of direct action with the defeat of nationalization of the mines. That is an error. The probability is that the campaign for nationalization will go on as strongly as ever, and that it will eventually gain its end. The difference is that it will be gained through the political representation of labor instead of by force.

K. C.

Gives Labor Fair Show

A Reader comments on the number of extracts from the Christian Science Monitor of Boston which appear in the Railroader. There is no sect feeling in the matter. The reason is that the Monitor is the only daily non-labor newspaper on the American Continent which makes a serious effort to give its readers a square look at labor affairs in all parts of the world. Its labor news is the most comprehensive and accurate record published, and even where there is a bias—as in the case of the Boston police union, opposed by the Monitor—it is at least an honest and reasoned one. In other respects, too, the Monitor is a model. It is the only truly international daily newspaper in the United States or Canada, and it is comparable in that respect to the London Times or the Manchester Guardian. It would also be hard to match in its effort in balancing the news according to value or in its typographical make-up. These remarks are simple acknowledgment of some apparent qualities, and are quite apart from any consideration of the paper as a medium for church propaganda.

K. C.

A Happy Augury

ONE of the happiest auguries for a sane and reasonable adjustment of Canadian unrest is found in the speech of Mr. E. W. Beatty at the C. P. R. annual banquet in Toronto, when he laid stress on service as the governing factor in thought and deed of employers and employees alike. Coming from the head of the largest railway organization in the world, and Canada's greatest private enterprise, the words carry a weight that may be expected to help create where it does not exist, and intensify where it does exist, the spirit of service. Mr. Beatty regards his post as a post of stewardship, inspiring and developing in the day's work of an immense business that vision of business which Bishop Farthing of Montreal pictured more than a year ago when he said in effect that stewardship and service instead of grab and selfishness—a social consciousness burning in the minds of men and women in all stations and at all times—were needed to brighten the outlook of the country.

K. C.

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That Conference Again

MR. N. W. ROWELL should read the *Railroader*. He is not a bad sort, and he would find the *Railroader* useful in his career as a mouthpiece of the people: he would mouthpiece a little more accurately and understandingly on occasion.

The affair giving rise to this piece of advice is that in the House of Commons on March 15th, Mr. Rowell, answering Mr. E. W. Tobin, showed that he knew little about the Empire Press Conference to be held in Canada this summer whereas if he had read the *Railroader* he would have known a good deal and been better able to give Mr. Tobin clear and satisfactory answers. The Government should be well informed on the matter, as it proposes to give out a large sum of money to help defray the expenses of the Conference (the *Gazette* placed the figure at \$30,000 the other day) and the Provincial Governments are giving \$40,000, making a total of the taxpayers' money of \$70,000, which is quite a pot with which to treat guests numbering a hundred or so.

The *Gazette's* report of the incident in the House is as follows:

"E. W. Tobin, Richmond-Wolfe, was informed by Mr. Rowell that it had been decided to hold an Imperial Press Conference in Ottawa, August 4 to 7, 1920. The officers responsible for carrying through the conference were the Canadian Press Association. The amount of Canada's contribution toward the expense is under consideration. The governments of Quebec and Ontario are each providing \$10,000 toward the expense, and the governments of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Alberta and British Columbia \$5,000 each. The Government has no information as to whether publishers can be included in the conference along with journalists and it is not aware that the executive council of the National Union of Journalists has refused to send a delegate to the next conference."

The Government has no information as to whether publishers can be included in the conference with journalists! Good heavens! Does Mr. Rowell at this late date think that it will be a conference of journalists, with a few publishers called in to grace the occasion? It is a conference of publishers and their hand-picked representatives. Most of the working journalists of the Empire have not been consulted in the matter. The only information that most Canadian journalists get about it is the propaganda stuff their employers order to be put in the papers.

As to the Government not being aware that the British National Union of Journalists, the largest organization of journalists in the world, has declined the invitation to send a delegate to the Conference, on the ground that it is not a conference of working journalists, it would have been aware of it if it had read the *Railroader*.

Mr. Tobin evidently reads the *Railroader* and probably got his inspiration for his question from it. I don't know him from Adam, but he is awake, anyway, and that is more than can be said for a number of legislators.

The more I think of this great Empire Press Conference's organization work, the more I think the publishers need some journalistic brains injected into it. It has so far been a succession of high-and-mighty blundering moves, when it might easily have developed a conference of publishers and journalists getting together in a friendly way, in the interest of journalism and the community. As it is, the working journalists are not pleased and, so the little birds tell me, some of the publishers are far from wearing seraphic smiles in connection in it.

Still, quite a cheery-looking front can be put on the thing with \$70,000 of the taxes, and doubtless some of the newspapers will beat the big drum and a lot of common people will think it is quite a show.

K. C.

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THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The protection of children, minors and women is one of the elementary duties of society, particularly in a big city where the individual life is not very easily watched. Cruelty to, or neglect of, children arises generally from three causes: first, that malicious and aggressive brutal treatment which is the result of a man or woman depraved by drink and other vicious habits; secondly, neglect, the result of indifference or some passion that causes the child to be simply ignored; and, thirdly, misfortune on the part of the parents such as arises from sickness or unemployment, which makes it impossible to properly provide for a child. Properly speaking, the guardianship of such children should be vested in the State; that is, the State should have agents who would look after the juvenile community in this respect. But next best is an active voluntary society. Ontario has a fine example in the Children's Aid Society, which has done useful work in the direction of home finding, co-operation with the juvenile court, bringing about preventive legislation designed to save boys and youths from associating with gambling and other clubs, looking after juvenile employment cases, and in a more positive way, forming boys' clubs, providing playgrounds and recreation centres.

In the province of Quebec, there are no school attendance officers who might ferret out cases of children suffering from neglect or cruel treatment, so that there is all the more need for a voluntary society of this character. The Society for the Protection of Wo-

men and Children has existed for a number of years, and has done much useful work. It was found, however, that there was need for reorganization and remodelling of the methods of operating the society. This change has been carried out, and it is now necessary to provide the society with adequate funds to carry on its work with still greater energy. There is an orphanage at Sweetsburg, Que., where boys may be sent if they are suffering from bad treatment or neglect, or if the parents are manifestly unable to maintain them. There are some cases of downright cruelty and inhumanity which come before the S. P. W. C., where children and babies have been starved or beaten or left without proper clothing and shelter; and in such cases, court prosecutions are found necessary. Happily, however, for the reputation of humanity in general, the majority of the cases are of a type where it is misfortune rather than cruelty that calls for the interference of the society. Sometimes, a parent is most anxious to look after the little family, but being at work all day, this becomes impossible, with the result that boys and girls go on to the streets and fall into evil company.

These problems can only be well dealt with when a society is sufficiently supported financially. The S. P. W. C. is now appealing for \$25,000, and Montrealers may be satisfied that if the money is subscribed, it will be properly used for the benefit of suffering children or helpless women.

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Modern Trade Unionism

The History of Trade Unionism. — By Sydney and Beatrice Webb. — Revised and enlarged edition, extended to 1920.

(From *The New Statesman*.)

The first edition of *The History of Trade Unionism* was published nearly thirty years ago. The new edition contains 250 pages of fresh matter, carrying on the story from 1890 to 1920. About the original part of the book — which is revised and slightly amplified but substantially unaltered — it is unnecessary to say much here, since for a quarter of a century it has been recognized, all over the world, not merely as the standard work on the subject, but as a piece of historical investigation which will remain "standard" as long as Trade Unionism remains sufficiently important to warrant interest in its origins. That anyone else should ever attempt to rewrite on a similar scale the history of the rise of the Trade Unions, from the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century, seems as unlikely as any attempt to retell on the scale of Motley the story of *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*. *The History of Trade Unionism* up to 1890 represented a definite piece of work undertaken and accomplished once and for all.

The new chapters in the present edition cannot be described in quite the same terms. They deal with events that are too recent to be examined with an entirely detached curiosity by anyone but a recluse — and no recluse could have access to the data. Moreover, the chief developments of modern Trade Unionism have become more and more the subject of acute political controversy, and in many of such controversies the writers of the history have taken a very active interest; so that they could hardly attempt, and indeed they do not attempt, to offer a final judgment on all the issues involved.

But what their account may thus lose in point of finality, as compared with the earlier part of the work, it certainly gains in point both of general interest and of immediate importance. It presents a picture, drawn with great explanatory skill and unrivalled knowledge, of that strange and startling entity known as "Labor," of whose real meaning and purposes so many, even of those who profess to guide public opinion, are still disastrously ignorant. And the picture is all the more valuable because it is drawn with that understanding of underlying realities which only sympathy can achieve. The practical politician may study the early history of Trade Unionism or not, as he please. But he must study its recent history. If he does not he cannot hope to be qualified to discuss, much less to settle, more than a very few of the major problems with which the nation will be faced in the coming years.

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Broadly speaking, it may be said that it is only in the present century that Trade Unionism has found itself. Since the year 1900 its growth in respect of numbers, of prestige and, above all, of political and industrial self-consciousness, has been far greater than its most sanguine friends would have dared to predict.

In 1892 there were about a million and a half Trade Unionists in the United Kingdom, in 1900 there may have been a million and three-quarters, in 1910 there were two and a half millions, in 1920 there are well over six millions, "including probably as many as sixty per cent. of all the adult male manual-working wage-earners in the kingdom."

Twenty years ago the Trade Union Congress represented only a "class-conscious" minority; to-day it can speak confidently in the name of the wage-earning class as such, with the knowledge that its decisions will be endorsed and actively supported, whether by the weapon of the vote or of the strike, by practically the whole of its constituents.

Trade Unionism has become, in short, incomparably the greatest non-governmental institution in the country, a "state within the state" so powerful that unless by some means it can be absorbed into the structure of Government it must inevitably end by upsetting the internal balance of power and destroying the foundations of constitutional authority.

It is doubtless a more or less dim realization of this fact which in these latter days has caused so much alarm

amongst the less-educated section of the well-to-do classes. But it is noteworthy that the greatest alarm is usually associated with the greatest ignorance. Those who have sought to understand the movements of thought and feeling which have led up to the position of to-day realize that the problem with which the nation is faced is a problem not of revolution but of a more or less difficult transition.

In so far as the prospect is dangerous it is so only on account of a lack of sympathy and understanding on the part of those who believe that they stand to suffer personal loss by the realization of working-classes aspirations. If the highest judicial authorities should be foolish enough to challenge and exasperate "Labor" by any more such "class" decisions as the Taff Vale judgment or the Osborne judgment, or if the trading and professional and leisured classes should respond to the "class war" appeals of Mr. Churchill and others to combine against Labor, then indeed the transition may have its rough and dangerous moments. But most of us have sufficient faith in the political genius of our race to believe that we shall not fail to find the means of incorporating so natural and spontaneous a growth as Trade Unionism into the fabric of our social organization and enlisting its vast power in the service of the State.

But real knowledge of the new factor is essential, and herein lies the value of such a book as Mr. and Mrs. Webb have written. What stands out

perhaps more clearly than anything else in their account of the recent expansion of Trade Unionism is the fact that there has been associated with it no figure of striking ability or outstanding moral authority. The British Labor movement has had no Parnell or Branting, nor even a Jaurès. The tremendous advance which it has made has been achieved under the leadership of a series of mediocrities. No Labor leader probably during the past twenty-five years has held a position in the movement equal to that held to-day by Mr. Smillie, yet even he, outside his own Union, can hardly be regarded as a dominating figure.

In other words, Labor has come to the fore as a result not of the efforts of particular men, but of the growth of an idea as inevitable and irresistible, once it was fairly launched, as the growth of political democracy itself. Seen in the perspective which a historical study of the movement provides, Mr. Lloyd George, opposing a defiant *non possumus* to the demands of the miners, appears as a little more than a stone in the way of a steam-roller. Already the Trade Unions in the chief industries of the country include practically the whole of the workers in their trades; soon membership will be everywhere compulsory by custom if not actually by law, and it is not less than absurd to imagine that the claims of these vast organized bodies of producers for an effective share in the real management of their industries, and for the progressive elimination of the factor of private profit, can be resisted with any hope of permanent success.

It is not necessarily a question of "nationalization." The word may be convenient, but it certainly describes very inadequately the real meaning of, for instance, the present miners' demand. It is sometimes complained that the miners' leaders have not made that meaning clear. Perhaps they are not all perfectly clear about it themselves. But that is no excuse for lack of understanding on the part of any man who professes to be a statesman or a leader.

We have no space here even to summarize the illuminating discussion of this question which is to be found in Mr. and Mrs. Webb's book. We can only say that once the underlying ideas which they set forth and explain are grasped, the difficulty of understanding the meaning of such demands as that of the miners should vanish. "Nationalization" may be a good word or a bad word, but as the miners use it, it is not a catch-word.

It has not been foisted on them by "agitators" or doctrinaire Socialists; it represents a need and an aspiration definitely felt if not yet definitely expressed, and quite surely destined to be fulfilled.

The paper wrapper which covers the new edition of *The History of Trade Unionism* informs us that nineteen thousand copies of the book have been sold in advance of publication to the members of Trade Union branches all over the country. We hope that 707 copies will be sold to the members of the House of Commons.

Office Workers and Associations

(Contributed)

Within the past eighteen months there has developed among the employers of office-workers in Montreal a solicitude for the welfare of their brain-helpers such as has never been known to prevail before. Numbers of them have opened wide hearts and started in on a campaign of reforming office conditions on a scale previously thought not possible. If we are to believe accounts published from time to time by the press concerning the "progressive" organizations which have been formed under the fostering aegis of these employers, the office workers of Montreal will soon have graduated into that class of affluents who can afford to own two tons of coal at a time and still go to the movies on Sundays. In fact, the unexampled munificence on the part of these employers would be deeply touching—were it not for the facts.

But not a few of the more astute strap-hangers who have the gift of smelling some of the rankness in the intellectual meat daily provided for their perusal have even dared to wink irreverently at the pompous accounts of some of these associations. Among the first of these irreverents have been the office workers themselves.

It was discovered on inquiry, however, that in almost every office where "benevolent associations" have been suddenly established, an attempt had been made, shortly before, to form a chapter of the naughty Stenographers and Office Workers Union.

So the secret was out. Even altruism sometimes has a cause, especially the altruism of some of the largest employers of office labor in Montreal.

This discovery led to an interview with Frank Griffard, who was the first to organize the office-workers of Montreal so long ago as November, 1918, when the stenographers and clerks of the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company cast in their lot with their fellow-workers in a memorable struggle for better conditions which resulted in a victory for all the employees.

Mr. Griffard gave a comprehensive survey of labor conditions insofar as they affect office workers in Montreal and also threw more light on the reason for the sudden formation of "associations" in many of the largest offices. "In almost every office investigated," said Mr. Griffard, "the 'salaries' paid stenographers, clerks and book-keepers are incomparably lower than the mere 'wages' paid laborers in the industrial departments. The average wage is from \$40 or \$45 a month upward," he said.

Mr. Griffard declared that shortly after the successful termination

of the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company strike, when the stenographers' union was recognized as well as the other striking organizations, he had instituted a campaign to bring a large number of stenographers and office clerks under the banner of organized labor. Meetings of the office workers employed in many of the largest concerns, including employees of one of the largest public services, were organized and addressed by union men. Considerable interest was manifested in the effort, and for a while the prospect appeared bright for a strong local in Montreal.

Then came the blow-out. First, the office management of one of the largest local implement concerns, announced that every effort would be made to make the lives of the employees, particularly the office

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workers themselves. The ladies seem to be the most culpable of the office workers in this respect. The sight of a union card does not somehow seem to fill their souls with any overpowering delight. And so they continue to draw their \$9 per. The men, especially those who consider themselves more or less permanent fixtures, are inclined to give more serious consideration to the problem—but few of them have the courage to resist the importunities of the employer and the "association". So they also continue to beat out the daily grind with very little hope in many cases of a financial advancement.

At present the membership of the Stenographers and Office Workers' Union is largely confined to the office of the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company, where the Union was originally formed. In this office, there is a long roll of members. A number are also to be found in the offices of the various local Unions.

The Union was originally included under a wide charter granted by the A. F. of L. and covering all workers employed by the gas-works, with the general title of "gas-workers". The stenographers and clerks employed by the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company were included under this charter. After the 1918 strike, and the subsequent satisfactory settlement, the workers in the various trades were transferred to existing organizations of similar nature in the city, while in cases where no unions existed, applications were made for charters. The stenographers and clerks came under this heading, and some time after the strike were duly chartered by the A. F. of L.

It must not be imagined that this tactic of forestalling a union by the formation of an "association" is of recent origin. Those who have had to fight the uphill struggle for a wider opportunity to live their lives according to their own ideals of freedom, and all those who are interested or in touch with labor movements, know that it is a favorite weapon of all reaction. School teachers, bank clerks, journalists, and other so-called "brain-workers" know it quite well; they have had recently numerous examples of its inside workings and ramifications. The "old-timers" had to fight it years ago.

But the friends of organized labor should not forget that there are now half a million of the "white-collar army" carrying union cards throughout America today. Not a few of them have established live progressive organizations right here in Montreal. But not until their brothers outside the fold realize the futility of tea-drinking and polite conversations as a means of appeasing an irate landlord, will the office-workers of Montreal attain to even comparative freedom from the continual financial embarrassment which will prevail so long as the present conditions in offices endure.

employees, a veritable elysium upon earth. So an "association" was formed. The employees now meet every once in so often, drink tea with much gravity, and go home to their two-by-nothings on the top floor back where they have every opportunity of musing on the sublimeness of an unpaid board bill, the cost of shoes — and the "munificence" of their employers.

However, not a little of the onus of blame must fall on the shoulders of the office-workers themselves, according to Mr. Griffard. Almost continual efforts have been made during the past eighteen months to turn them at last into the highway that leads to economic freedom, but even where "associations" do not spring up mushroom-like at the first sound of agitation, there is in many cases little interest manifested by the

Spirit of Service Notable Feature of Addresses at C.P.R. Annual Banquet

Apart from the holding of the Canadian Pacific's annual official banquet outside of Montreal this year, the place of meeting being Toronto, on March 13th, another innovation was the fact that for the first time representatives of the railway brotherhoods throughout the Dominion were in attendance as the guests of the company. One of the features of an eventful evening was the emphasizing of the relationship which was growing stronger day by day between the skilled laboring men and the officials of Canada's great system.

Vice-President A. D. MacTier drew special attention to this fact. "I desire," said he, "to say a word of very special welcome to the representatives of the great railway organizations who are with us tonight for the first time at our annual banquet, and I hope and trust that they may be with us on every such future occasion. I have for the past eighteen months had the great privilege of being closely associated, on the Canadian Railway Board of Adjustment, with a number of gentlemen representing these organizations. The experience has allowed me to know them and their aims, far better than I should otherwise have done, and to admire and respect them to a very marked degree. I desire specially to welcome these gentlemen because their presence here tonight is the visible proof, were one needed of that wonderful Canadian Pacific Railway unity. The Canadian Pacific Railway does not alone consist of tracks, roundhouses, yards, and so on, but it has a far greater asset in its esprit de corps—a living spirit which has joined up these material things, and made the Canadian Pacific Railway a company of which we are all so proud."

Interests are the Same

W. G. Chester, chairman of the Employees' Co-operative Board, stated that he appreciated very highly the courtesy that had been extended to the men. "This is the first time," said he, "that an invitation has been extended to representatives of organized labor on an occasion of this kind, and I am sure that the rest of the employees feel as much pleased at the company's invitation as myself."

Mr. Chester went on to say that he felt very much at home because he could see many men sitting around him who held positions as conductors, brakemen and firemen, in the days gone by. He expressed the opinion that one of the main things in building the Canadian Pacific Railway to further greatness would be the selection of men who know their work and do it well. "There is no finer body of men on earth than those who engage in the service of the Canadian Pacific Railway," declared Mr. Chester, emphatically.

"Organized labor has tried to play the game fair, and they have had their part in building up the company. I believe that every employee has the interests of the company as much at heart as the officers. I know this from what they say to each other. Our interests are, and must be, all the same because the success of the company means the success of the employees."

President's First Speech.

President E. W. Beatty, on rising to respond to the toast of "The Company," was greeted with a demonstration which left no doubt as to his popularity with all branches of the Canadian Pacific Railway services. He said in part:—

One of the duties which the by-laws of the company, if my preference were consulted, should contain, would be that the chairman of the company or some other officer, was obligated to make public speeches. It has unfortunately fallen to my lot to be compelled to speak in several places in Canada since October, 1918, and I sincerely believe it is one of the most arduous and least interesting of any of the phases of activity pertaining to the office.

When I was at college in this city, and afterwards when I practised law in Montreal, I praised myself upon the fact that never on any occasion, outside of a court or a commission, did I indulge in speech-making, either platform, or after-dinner. In my ignorance I considered that that was a creditable record, especially for one who had actively practiced law for upwards of seventeen years. It came to pass, however, that my nemesis overtook me and I was compelled in January of last year to make what was my first public appearance in that capacity in Montreal. It was a Sunday night gathering of the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association, composed largely of railwaymen, and wishing to make myself at home with the audience, or rather induce them to be at home to, and in an amateurish effort to secure their sympathy, I told them that it was my first appearance as a speaker, and I also told them the following story, which was a true story and designed also to secure a friendly recognition.

Much Too Modest

Some years ago, I gave my first and only indications of wealthy instincts by contracting appendicitis. In due course an eminent surgeon spent thirteen and one-half minutes of his valuable time in removing the cause of the trouble and when convalescing I said to the assisting surgeon that I would like the fee fixed for this eminent gentleman's exhibition of digital dexterity. He was in due course approached, and the first question he asked was: "What does Mr. Beatty do?" The answer

that he got was: "He is only a poor lawyer; in fact I understand a very poor lawyer, indeed." The result was that the minimum fee was fixed in my case.

Now, as I say, I told that story, and after the meeting was over a Grand Trunk employee met a C.P.R. employee on the street and the C.P.R. man said to the Grand Trunk man: "What did you think of the old man's speech?" (The old man being me.) "Well," drawled the Grand Trunk man, "he first said that he was a damn poor speaker and then he told us that he was a damn poor lawyer. On the whole I thought it was a damn poor speech." So you see there are important personal reasons why I should welcome a change in the functions of the office, which would permit someone else to do the public speaking.

If ever I do make a speech, how-

ever, I can say with perfect honesty that I would rather speak to the Canadian Pacific officers and employees than to any other audience, and particularly I am glad on this occasion to say a few words because the present banquet is taking place in my former home city, a city of great commercial and transportation importance, under somewhat different auspices than former banquets, in that we have been honored by several distinguished men, including His Honor, the Lieutenant Governor, the presence of all of whom I wish to assure them is very welcome and deeply appreciated.

If I might further particularize, without invidiousness, I would like to mention the gratification we all feel at the presence of the Hon. Mr. Mills, Minister of Mines, and Mr. W. G. Chester, representing the employees of the company. Mr. Mills step-

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ped off one of our locomotives to take his present portfolio, and there is one mineral substance with the use of which he is very familiar; I refer to coal. If there is anything in the way of defects in the quality of coal that he has not discovered and mentioned during the last past few years, I do not know what it is. With that branch of his duties he comes to his new office extraordinarily well equipped, and I have no doubt will administer the important functions of his office with the same efficiency as he showed in this company's service. Mr. Chester represents the backbone of this enterprise but he typifies in himself that loyalty to the interests he represents combined with co-operation and fairness which has made his association with the officers of the company one of great advantage to both.

Railway Situation

On the occasion of our last banquet the railway situation was somewhat different than it is today. It has now advanced another step in what some regard as being the logical consequence of the first step, and we are met with the rather unique situation of the existence of two strong railway systems in Canada, both backed by adequate credit and both desirous of fulfilling to the best of their ability their share in supplying the transportation requirements of the country.

Some people have regarded the railway situation as highly controversial, and it was to the extent that the adherents of the two systems of administration, privately owned and publicly owned, have been insistent on the correctness of their respective views and expressedly apprehensive of the results of any other system than that which they advocated. To my mind to regard it as controversial is now unnecessary and unwise, and the chief consideration of all of us is as to what will be the result to the country as a whole in the matter of railway service, and to ourselves in particular as one of those engaged in supplying a large part of that service.

The Canadian Pacific has been built up over a long period of years into an organization of which we may all be conceivably and properly proud, and an organization the usefulness of which in public service is probably now more important than at any other period in its history. It is a company which can only continue to succeed by being administered with strict integrity, and in accordance with the highest business ethics. Upon its success in service depends its rewards.

Always Competition

There has always been competition and there always will be competition and the character of business competition does not alter in any of its essential details as the years pass on. Our competitor is and will be a very extensive system, which will probably increase its magnitude. We all hope it will be a success and we do not need to be altruists in order

to harbor that hope. I think I can say to you with perfect candor that no man in Canada has more reason to hope for its success than I have, for two reasons, first, because its success as a railway undertaking means a gradual release of the burden on the taxpayer, and the Canadian Pacific is a fairly heavy taxpayer, and, secondly, because the factors which contribute to its success will ensure the further and continued success of the Canadian Pacific. If the traffic development of the country is such as to support the National system, it will undoubtedly be sufficient to add to the support of the Canadian Pacific. You will, therefore, appreciate that on national and selfish grounds the success of the National Railways is something that every Canadian Pacific official should desire.

Keen Competition

It involves competition, of course — keen competition. Competition which is both keen and honest cannot help but redound to the advantage of the competitors, to the improvement in the character of the service they render and to the resultant advantage of the people and communities served. Personally, I would have no fear of the competition adversely affecting this company or its interests, and the reason why I think I have a right to that confidence is to be found in the organization itself and the character of the officers and men who comprise it — officers and men who I think can be relied upon to play the game of transportation competition as it was meant to be played, adroitly, persistently, aggressively and fairly.

In years gone by it was considered an act of proper aggressiveness for one competitor to decry the methods and wares of his rival. This is not the case today. It is foolish to depreciate your competitors outwardly or otherwise — foolish for two reasons: first, because they probably do not deserve your depreciation of them, and secondly, because it is bad business.

Outstanding Factors

It is not necessary for me to mention to you any of the outstanding factors in connection with the company which render your association with it so important to you and to it. In the railway alone there has been invested in cash in excess of eight hundred and thirty million dollars. In its subsidiary enterprises there are many more millions, so I am safe, I think, in saying that it is the largest privately owned and operated transportation agency in the world. It has been conservatively financed, supported by the people and the Government in its inception in a way which was then considered as only substantial enough to keep it alive for a short time, and in later years when it made these properties valuable largely by its own efforts and by the same efforts increased the value of all lands in the West, the same support has been consider-

ed by some critics as over-generous. For myself I am prepared to leave it to the judgment of the people as a whole as to whether or not it has fulfilled the onerous obligations imposed upon it, both to the advantage of itself and the country, and I would draw your attention to the finding of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into railways that the people of Canada received full value for the support given to the Canadian Pacific under the agreement of incorporation made in 1881 — a conclusion I venture to suggest which was reached by all Canadians before the finding was made.

In conclusion, I only wish to add one word — a word of the highest

possible commendation of the loyalty and efficiency of the officers and men who comprise this corporation and whose efforts have made, and are making it, what it is.

Mr. Grant Hall, Vice-President.

Speaking of the relations with the employees, Mr. Grant Hall, Vice-President, said that he had never had an interview with W. G. Chester on behalf of the men that he did not feel that employees had done what was right from their point of view. "I assured the president only recently", said he, "that we had nothing to fear from the attitude of our men on industrial matters."

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"The Workers as Citizens"

(A book review by H. J. L. in New Republic.)

ONE perhaps in a decade there comes to us a book that one would gladly make an intimate part of the statesman's mind. He is so apart from the daily business of humble men's lives as rarely to penetrate the inwardness of the problems he has to solve. Statistics, indeed, he has, and almost to the point of nausea; yet, somehow, when the souls of men become units on a correlation-table they lose the quick and moving touch of living personality.

The thing the statesmen needs comes rather from the realm where science and art become so intermingled as to have a magic glamor of their own. A blue book bores him, and we cannot expect him to legislate upon the basis of Dickens's *Hard Times*.

This book combines the exactness of scientific inquiry with the vivid appeal of art. It is the picture of the lives of four hundred workers in a typical English industrial town. Taking for granted some such ideal as the British Labor party has in view, it asks what equipment the worker has to face the problems of modern civilization. What are his political views? What does he read? Has he access to the stored riches of the past? What are his desires? How would he achieve them? These, one imagines, are the things that men like Lincoln have sought to understand at moments, as after the news of Appomattox, when the chance of creative action seemed within their grasp. These are the bases of those visions that men like Shelley and Morris have translated into the throbbing cadence of their song. It is the knowledge of the answer we must today make to these questions that causes the flush in the cheek and catch at the throat of those thousands who in the half-hidden underworld of modern politics mutter in yearning faith the International.

It may well be doubted whether in English literature there is a more realistic portrait of the English working-class than is here drawn. Mostly, it is a sombre picture of men and women caught relentlessly in the toil of a vast machine whose processes they fail to understand.

Largely, also, they are a tired race without energy to think either of the glories of the past or the contingent splendors of to-morrow. Their lives are set in neutral tints, so that, for the most part, they seem outside the process of which they are in supposition part. The cries of parties, the dreams of thinkers, even the achievement of the race, pass, with but rare exceptions, without their experience. Their consolations do not enrich them save where some sudden passion, as the love of children or their church, has given an inward comfort to which they can withdraw. Their vast simplicity, their confiden-

ce in each other, their yearning after rest—these are the qualities by which they are distinguished.

Their citizenship is not a source of joy. Government is simply an external group of men in whose honesty they have little faith and to whose purposes they feel rather indifferent than alien. Save for some women, the Church is largely dead. The war is something that takes them from their homes or touches them with some strange romantic glow they are untrained to analyze into substantial content. The way of other men's lives they hear by

rumor rather than seek by knowledge. There is the vast multitude — themselves — and then the conquerors. Their place and destiny are fixed; and the day means only the rise of the sun to enforce allotted toil.

The modern discontents but barely touch them; they feel at times some movement bigger than they know. But these are issues that are not of them. They lack a sense of the state because the state has never found a means whereby their citizenship can call their minds and hearts into creative being.

Not, indeed, that the picture ends there. There are men and women whose souls are set before us to whom no attitude is possible save a dumb respect. Again and again one

finds in such cases that the source of contact with the modern world is trade-unionism. Here are the socialists to whom citizenship may one day mean a share in the gain not less than the toil of living, to whom church and king and parliament are institutions either for condemnation or for conquest. Their leisure is, when it rarely comes, for public meeting, or a quiet hour in the corner of the public library, or, less often, in those classes of the W. E. A. which perhaps represent the greatest discovery in civic technique of recent years.

The war to them—one catches the ring in the voice—is the beginning of a new epoch of which the mastery can be theirs. Russia bewilders them a little, though often it is instinct with a great hope they hardly have the courage to explore.

Most of them, it is worth while to note, are the children of English Puritans, and they retain that fierce instinct for the dignity of the human soul which not even the cramping policy of Ricardian individualism was able utterly to destroy. They want, above all for their children, a generous education system. Mr. Fisher's bill inspires them with a hope that should arouse in its author a humble awe akin to veneration. One feels in them a well-spring of perpetual initiative, pressing always towards the light, though often uncertain in an atmosphere reached only by self-help and a grim struggle of which some casual hint will give us the tragic details. Here, one would urge, is the England of the future. These men and women know that there is a kingdom to be taken and they dream of making its confines the treasured possession of humble men.

The true defect of the national life, these English workers tell us, is spiritual poverty. Wages and shorter hours are not the pith of the problem. Better housing and improved sanitation will not give us the co-operative commonwealth. One half the workers of today, such is the estimate we are given, "are not yet fit to make a worthy use of blank cheques of additional leisure and means."

What they need is a training in the spiritual riches life can offer, its art, its literature, its science, its music. They need that glimpse into the impalpable world of dreams which tells them how elevated a destiny is possible to those who labor with their souls. The road to that ideal lies in a spiritual equalitarianism. We must learn that no improvement is adequate which does not make the worker feel that our zeal in social service is the expression of our brotherhood with himself. Our choice today, it is clear enough, is between a reconstruction of spiritual purpose and the overthrow of our institutions. Our governors will have to put off the trappings of royalty and descend into the market-place. Yet those who know the oneness of humanity will know also that such descent is in truth the pathway to the stars.

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Need for Improvement in Moral, Social and Political Conditions and Ideals Emphasized by Anglican Clergyman

The raising of the standard of general living in every department of life, social, political and commercial, was the next step in the Forward Movement put forward by Rev. Dr. Symonds preaching at the thanksgiving service held on March 14, at Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, for the successful result of the recent campaign. Stress was more particularly laid upon the need for a higher standard in political and social conditions. "I refer not only to the individual life; that is an appeal which we are constantly making in the churches, but I mean also the general life of the community at large. It is necessary that we should try to raise the standard of convention, which guides and governs our life in every department. In this appeal we must not leave out the Church. It is easy for the clergy to tell business people, political people and others what they ought to do, for sometimes the Church forgets that its own work is under criticism, and that there are scandals and stumbling blocks in connection with the Church. The standard of the Church, too, must be raised; her prejudices, narrowness, exclusiveness and selfishness are just as much open to criticism as commercial, political or individual lives. We are all in the same boat, and that is a splendid situation from which to start a forward movement. There is not of necessity any reflection cast upon the past by such a statement. Generally speaking each generation lays down a stratum of moral and spiritual convention that the next generation stands on and so is capable of more advance than that which went before it."

On this basis, Dr. Symonds suggested, all the churches could unite, though they might differ as to methods. Every church could unite to this and say on the basis of the testimony which has been given that the people have respect, regard, reverence and love for the Church, and believe that on the whole in spite of shortcomings, it is, nevertheless, an institution making for the welfare of the people in the moral and spiritual side of life—on the basis of that the churches have to say: "Now it is for us to present to the people that higher ideal and standard of social and individual life upon which our true progress ultimately depends."

There is no one, asserted the preacher, who would venture to deny that there is room for improvement, say, in our political condition, or that it is possible to raise the standard of the political ideal. "Am I wrong or not when I say that there have been many cases and probably still are—of men who for a political party would do things that they would not do for themselves, things which they

would say were dishonorable, and which they could not do?—Is there not need for raising the political standard in this respect? There are men who would hesitate to receive a bribe for themselves, but who would not hesitate in an election to offer bribes to other people. We want to get rid of that truly dreadful condition of things under which many people believe it is a kind of reproach to say of a man that he is a politician, whereas it should be the greatest glory of a citizen if we have the higher ideals in politics. It is because we have degraded and dragged down into the mud the very word 'politics' that we have come to refer to a man who is cunning or not considered straight, that he is a regular politician."

As to social conditions, Dr. Symonds said that some of us are becoming almost tired of hearing of social problems; yet what is to be done? They exist and are extraordinarily complicated. Some people are inclined to say how little there is to show for all the talk on the subject. "I say you must not look for fruit today. We are still in the seed-sowing period, and it is my honest conviction that fifty years hence there will be a very rich harvest from the seed which the social worker is sowing today."

Speaking of "convention", the preacher pointed out what represented the opinion of the largest number of people, whether in dress, customs or general conduct; hence we must seek to raise our conventions and lift them up to a higher platform all round.

In commercial life and in international relations there is equally room for the same sort of effort, all of which show there is great work for a forward movement today, and

if this is preached in a large and broad spirit before the large-minded men and women of this country they will support it. It is not only the orthodox who are needed; the Church needs all the intellectual as well as the emotional.

:0:

LABOR PARRY FOR NEW BRUNSWICK

The New Brunswick Federation of Labor, on March 11, endorsed a resolution that the executive call a convention to organize an independent labor party in New Brunswick.

Resolutions dealing with the following matters were endorsed:

The prohibition of private employment agencies, regulation for steam and operating engineers, a minimum living wage to each class of school teachers, school open in all districts, consolidation of small districts, pensions for widows and orphans, whose bread-winners are not covered by Compensation Act, proportional representation in provincial and Dominion elections, abolishment of property qualifications for offices of mayor, alderman or county councillor.

Resolutions submitted by St. John Trade and Labor Council were concurred in, including:

Requesting provincial Government to legislate against storing food products more than thirty days in cold storage.

Requesting legislation establishing centralization of administration of all labor laws.

Requesting uniform system of sanitary plumbing based on modern standards, combined with examination and licensing of master and journeymen plumbers.

Motormen and conductors to have four days training.

Simplify recall of commissioners in St. John.

Requesting union label on all Government printing.

To amend laws so as to guarantee workers wages without forcing latter to go to law.

Election of civil and municipal officials now appointed by council and Government. Union or prevailing rate of wages to be paid to all workmen on Government work.

Free school books and supplies up to grade 7, inclusive.

Urging upon local and Dominion Governments the immediate necessity of taking over and controlling all necessities of life to prevent any further exploitation of the public.

Requesting Provincial Government to appoint representatives of workers on all public boards.

Requesting American Federation of Labor to put more organizers in this field.

The Federation the same morning passed a resolution demanding that further restrictions be placed by the provincial Government upon the exportation of pulpwood from New Brunswick.

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Education, Industry and Life

A Scheme for Continuation Schools

(By Professor J. A. Dale.)

Education after the elementary school, for better production both in industry and in personal and social welfare — that is one of the most pressing and promising fields for development. It is practically everywhere conceded that the ordinary school course for the vast majority of boys and girls, even where they all complete it, comes to an end before they are really fitted for the work and play of life. The demand arises for some kind of continuation. This has been met first by voluntary effort of many kinds. In the next stage it has been more or less organized by local authorities of unusual initiative. Finally it has been accepted as an integral part of a national school system.

This last stage, desired by all educationists of repute, is being worked out in England under the Fisher Act of 1918. This Act drew up the broad lines of policy, leaving local authorities the utmost freedom in working out detailed schemes to suit their needs and possibilities, offering them at the same time generous financial assistance. It is of the greatest importance to us to study these schemes. The first one to reach me is a most instructive one, and an account of it should be deeply interesting alike to employers and employed, to teachers and to all who have the welfare of Canada at heart.

The Fisher Act provides for the ultimate attendance at part-time schools, of all whose education is not otherwise provided for, between the ages of 14 and 18. These children, whose elementary schooling ends with the close of the term in which their 14th birthday falls, will enter continuation schools and attend for 320 hours a year. This is a maximum, and no part of it may be taken outside normal working hours. Each local authority, in submitting its scheme, will propose an allocation of these hours, together with the time that will be needed to put the Act in full operation. The scheme before me provides for a normal attendance of 8 hours a week for 404 weeks, with holidays at Christmas, Easter and midsummer. The basis of the plan is to have the school work all on one day, but in this as other matters the Committee is anxious to preserve the greatest possible elasticity, and will give facilities for attendance on two half days when circumstances make it desirable.

Because of the shortage of buildings and teachers, it may be safely assumed that most of the schemes will be brought into operation

gradually. The addition of so many scholars to the education system is an immense and costly undertaking. But all education authorities will have eventually to carry it out, and the admirably conceived scheme I propose to describe is an instructive example of how it can be done. In the first place, the limit of attendance will be 16 instead of 18 till the necessary equipment has been developed. In this particular town, the number of children passing the leaving age and entering the continuation schools in the first year will be about 15,000. The second year will double this figure. It is proposed to raise the limit to 18 in the 8th year, which will give from the 9th year on a total attendance of 60,000, on the present basis of population.

The normal expectation of employment gives a rough grouping as follows:—

Engineering group...	20,000
Jewellery, Brass and Art Metal...	2,000
Commercial...	12,000
Food and Confectionery...	2,000
Tailoring, Dressmaking, Leatherwork...	6,000
Miscellaneous (e. g. Transport, Building, Printing, Agriculture, Service or Home duties)...	18,000

It is proposed to appoint for each group a committee consisting of an equal number of employers and workpeople, with representatives of the Education Committee, and power to add others if desired on account of special knowledge.

In framing the general policy, the committee has, after careful consideration, accepted the principle laid down by all responsible educationists. I give it in their own words. "The education of students from 14 to 16 should not be technical or vocational alone. The main function of the schools is that of building up good citizens, strong in character, mind and body. The Committee has determined that the whole organization, whether of the more formal instruction or of the more recreative but not

less valuable activities of the social side, shall serve this chief end." The approach to this end is well expressed in what follows: "Their experience... has forced the Committee to the conclusion that, to ensure a successful solution of the educational problem now before them, it will be necessary to start from the centre of interest of the student. They recognize that what bulks most largely with the boy of 14 who has just left school, is the fact that he is now a wage-earning unit of society; and he is now inclined to regard everything else from its bearing on his occupation and other activities. For this reason it is proposed to start from the centre of interest for the time being, and to extend outwards."

Following out this principle, the schools will be of various types, based on the rough classification given above, and placed so as to be most accessible: but the arrangement will be modified wherever possible and profitable, to avoid rigidity, and like the subjects of study, "can only be determined as a result of experience. They intend that the organization shall be such as to enable experiments to be tried under the most varied conditions, with a view to gaining such experience." The real test of the inclusion of a subject... will be how far it develops the moral and physical being, and stimulates the imagination and intellectual activity of the students." "In all cases will come physical training, including health. For all girls it is intended to provide during one term of the first two years, 4 hours a week of instruction in housewifery, this subject being in future omitted from the elementary school curriculum. The social activities of the school will be utilized to the fullest extent for the education of the students."

How will the student choose his school? There is already in existence a body bearing the somewhat awkward name of the Care committee. Its function is so new that no satisfactory name has yet been devised: but both in conception and in practice it has made a notable contribution to the solution of this most difficult and important educational problem, the junction of school and after life. Its business has been to collect accurate information about wages, prospects and conditions in the various employments; for vocations which need further training, to know just what training and how to get it; to add this knowledge to the ver-

diction of the teacher on the capacities of the particular pupil; and finally to present to him and his parents a kind of map of the openings before him, as he is preparing to leave school. I need not enlarge on the details, nor the advantages which may be gained from such a system. It means at least that the child leaves school with a definite intention, and with his eyes open; and for the parents that at least they have accurate data to guide their choice, and are assured of the sympathetic and practical interest of the education authorities in the welfare of their children.

This procedure becomes part of the scheme. "At least one month before the child is due to leave school, the Headmaster, an officer of the Central Care Department, and possibly an officer of the Juvenile Employment Exchange, will confer with the parents at the school on the choice of a situation, "and every assistance will be given in finding one — not, of course, irrevocably. Then the most suitable continuation school will be provisionally chosen, and its Head Teacher given a copy of the elementary school report of the pupil, together with any other information from volunteer or other social workers who may take a special interest. On these reports will be decided the grade which the pupil will enter, though the scheme is designed to leave open to a good student the improvement of his grading. The normal classification will be Upper, Middle and Lower: but this will be modified by a cross-grading according to subjects so that pupils may be in different grades for different subjects — a highly desirable arrangement. "Moreover the staffing and organization will allow a considerable amount of individual attention and great importance will be attached to this phase of the school work."

Classes will contain about 25 as a rule, though for certain subjects (e. g. housewifery) 13 will be the maximum. Thus one of the chief handicaps of education in schools is avoided. Each school is planned for 400 pupils at once, that is for 2,000 altogether, reckoning 5 school-days a week.

The Committee is prepared to follow to the utmost the lead of the Fisher Act in regard to physical training and recreation. Each school will have a gymnasium and trained instructors. One hour of a full day's attendance, or half an hour where the attendance is arranged in half-day, will be used for physical training. The committee is aware of the extent to which poor work can pass muster in this subject, of which there are so many teachers ill-equipped to handle the physical problems of growing boys and girls. It makes the wise provision that the instruction shall be "watched and developed under proper supervision, which would secure its due relationship to the

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corresponding instruction in the elementary schools."

The provision for the play-life, on which special stress is laid in the Act, is generous and far-reaching. It points to a wise co-operation of the various agencies of healthy recreation, and emphasises the fact that a saner conception of the meaning of education is beginning to dominate authorities which are in especial charge of children unable to secure its advantages for themselves. The years of adolescence have been hitherto neglected, except for the few who carry on their schooling, or are reached by various voluntary agencies. Yet they are in special need, not only of intelligent physical training, but of the opportunity and encouragement to form good habits in the wholesome use of leisure.

With this in view, each school will have a Games master or Mistress. Further, on each staff there will be teachers engaged on the understanding that they shall take part in the outdoor sports and their organization, as part of their work. The Committee will secure the use of playing fields, and will co-operate as far as possible with existing agencies for indoor and outdoor recreation. With the same object the schools will be open in the evenings for voluntary recreation of many kinds. A library with reading room, and at least one large club-room will be provided in each school, and the accommodation will be increased if the demand requires it. For "the Committee is keenly alive to the great advantage of this side of school life... They realize that success in achieving their aims and ideals will depend in no small measure on the development of a healthy corporate school life." The intention then is to make the schools the centres of the evening activities and recreations of the students. Every school will then be the home of an education at once industrial and intellectual, physical and social, for an immense and vital part of the people, at present educationally homeless.

I have space in this article for one other point only, that of the means of securing regular attendance. The Fisher Act is based upon an already existing system of universal education, which ensures an elementary education to every child. This basis it strengthened by enacting that no child shall be employed for profit under 12, that employment under 14 shall be regulated or forbidden wherever prejudicial to health or education, and by giving the local authorities power to extend the school age to

15. Thus every child, no matter how needy and subject to exploitation will have a foundation on which the continuation schools can build. Attendance at these latter is compulsory and is done in employer's time. This involves of course, and must involve, penalties for infraction. But this is not the essence of the nature of compulsion in education: it is only its sanction, resting on the determination of the community that no child shall, by any form of selfishness on the part of anyone, be deprived of those advantages which that community has decided are its rightful due. This common determination will be strengthened by every kind of publicity, to bring home the facts of the case to people of intelligence and goodwill, as well as to the children themselves. As to the latter, the committee "will proceed on the assumption that social, educational, and industrial influences will be effective in securing regular attendance in the case of the vast majority. The tone realized in the school, the aim of the work as manifested to the pupil, the character and means of instruction, the linking up of schools and works, the interest of parents and employers, the social and recreative arrangements, will all have a powerful influence on the willingness of attendance." The gradual coming into operation of the scheme will also be an important factor in the creation of public opinion, and allow time for the necessary industrial reorganization.

Obviously very much will depend on the choice of teachers and administrators. All institutions are hampered in their development by an insufficient appreciation of the nature and need of real qualifications, which is at root of patronage. This is one of the things on which the fate of democracy hangs. Such a scheme as I have described calls for men and women of sound broad training, of elastic and sympathetic mind, and an unforced spirit of natural democracy: qualities which should (though they are not always yet) the outcome of a national system of education.

As to the employers' contribution to this charter of youth, I quote the words of Mr. Fisher in the House. "In asking the employers to assent to these changes—the establishment of day continuation classes, the abolition of half-time employment in those regions where it still continues to exist, and the further regulation of employment during the period of elementary school life—I am asking them to submit to readjustments in the organization of their industries

which, in some cases, will be troublesome to effect. But I rest my appeal on the broad ground of national advantage." The scheme outlined above is proof that the appeal has not been made in vain.

This is in no Utopia. It is in one of the greatest industrial cities of the Empire, famous for the shrewdness of its business men. Neither does the scheme even when completed mark a final goal. The fortunate few know from experience how precious a time for education

are the years of adolescence. This will be recognized as true, not for the few, but for all who are capable. For these critical years, work, study and play will be more equally interwoven than they are in this scheme. Equal direction and encouragement will be given to the practice of responsible self-supporting citizenship, and of the intellectual and social activities natural to youth. Towards such a national education this scheme is a long step forward.

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SCHOOL YARDS



(From "The Survey," New York).

School yards mean one thing in New York and another—a very different other—in Chicago. The two plans reproduced in this page (The Railroader reproduces one of them) from a recent report of West Chicago park commissioners embody ideas which to the rest of the country and to the rest of the world yet must seem far off, happy dreams. The effort of the commissioners is to place every school in their city in an environment of beauty and refinement, to broaden the imagination of its boys and girls and make them feel

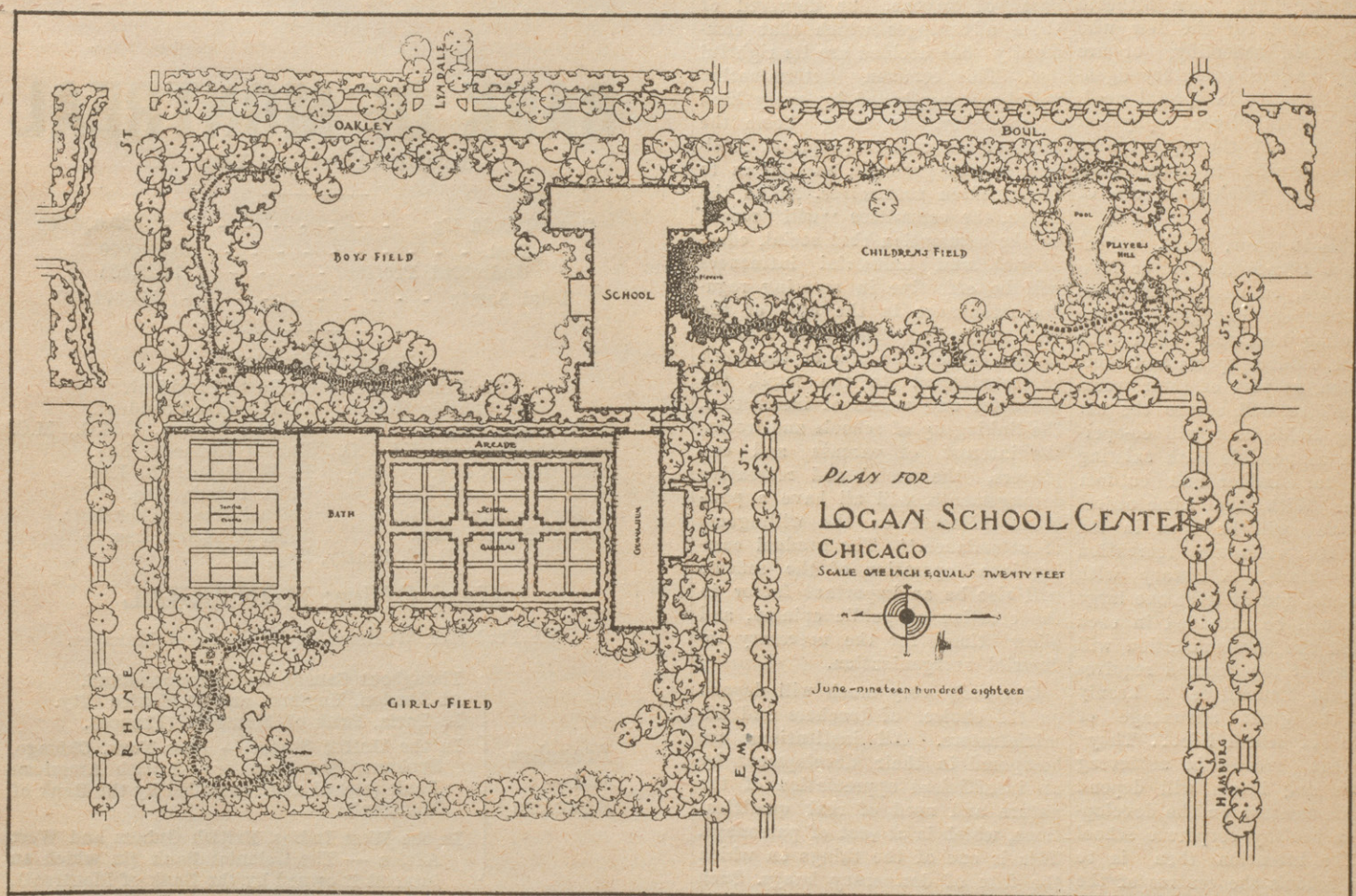
and understand the importance of the great out-of-doors to their lives. The Logan centre is described as a "humble beginning", its size being curtailed by the great expense of the surrounding property. Of the plan itself they say:

"It suggests a group of buildings for school activities. It is supposed that this group of buildings will offer a more attractive and picturesque bit of architecture to the imaginative mind of the children than a building of the ordinary plain, three-story type. It is also supposed that the school building, with its environment of trees, shrubs and flow-

ers, will present the home idea in a greater measure. It gives on a larger scale all those things essential to human happiness and all those things for which the home is limited in our great cities. It provides for the health of the boy and the welfare of the soul. There is nothing mystic about it. It is human endeavor intensified."

The Lloyd centre is cut in two by an existing street which cannot be closed. Here lack of space compelled the joining of educational and recreational buildings. Story rings and council rings for outdoor study and pleasure, a players' hill for drama-

tic art and music, an old folks' corner, a woodland lane, are part of a design which is eminently practical. Flowers are arranged in colonies for easy study, and some of the vegetation is chosen to attract birds. A large swimming and skating pool is constructed with sand bottom and walls of native rock, so that concrete construction is eliminated altogether. A small fall, made necessary by drainage requirements, makes an attractive feature; the higher pond is used to supply vegetable and animal life for nature study. Both schools will be centres of neighborhood activity.



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Another View of the Employing Class

(The New Statesman, London, Feb. 14.)

The great national Conference of employers which met this week under the auspices of the Federation of British Industries, proved to be a very tame and disappointing affair. The official resolutions were, of course, carried, and the Conference duly protested against nationalization and reaffirmed, in a series of somewhat uninspiring propositions, its continued faith in capitalist methods of production.

What was surprising was not this fact, but the extraordinary lack of enthusiasm and the incompetent fashion in which the business was conducted.

If a few of the extremist leaders of Labor, who are accustomed to dwell upon the amazing subtlety and resourceful wickedness of the capitalist class, could have been introduced into the conference hall, they would certainly have been obliged to modify their opinion; for the Conference presented the appearance rather of an assembly of somewhat forlorn old gentlemen commemorating the dead past than of a militant Soviet of economic supermen.

It is to be hoped that some of those journalists who are in the habit of dwelling upon the tameness and incompetence of the Trades Union Congress were present at this first meeting of its capitalist rival; for there can be no doubt at all which comes off best on a scrutiny of their proceedings. Perhaps the explanation is that this week's gathering consisted mainly of company directors, whereas the real brains of industry are more and more centred in the salaried staffs.

—ffoff—

O. B. E. OUT OF DATE

Thomas Naylor, chairman of the London Labor party and secretary of the composters' society, in declining the proposal to appoint him an Officer of the Order to the Brit-the Empire, writes thanking Premier Lloyd George for his kind offer, but stated that he felt that distinctions of this kind "are out of date in this democratic age and carry with them political and social obligations for which I would be unable to assume responsibility."

—o:—

SOMEWHAT SIMILAR AIM.

During a brawl in a Chicago resort an Irishman got poked in the eye with a stick, and he immediately started proceeding against the offender.

"Come now", said the magistrate, "you don't really believe he meant to put your eye out?"

"No, I don't", said the Celt, "but I do believe he tried to put it, farther in".—"San Francisco Argonaut".

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B.C. Labor Joins Up With One Big Union

Discussion of resolutions favoring the Russian soviet form of government and calling for the resignation of the federal minister of labor because of alleged lack of action in the Crows Nest coal miners' strike, and also deprecating the six months' hoist proposed for the eight hour day bill proposed in the provincial legislation, took up the session of the British Columbia Federation of Labor Convention at Victoria, on March 9.

Delegate V. R. Midgely bitterly attacked the "secret police," declaring the government had seen fit to watch the democracy of the country; referred to "open and barefaced collusion between international unions, employers and secret police." One Big Union sympathizers had been discharged on "trumped up" charges at the instigation of internationalists.

By a vote of 40 to 5, the gathering went on record for the dissolution of the British Columbia Federation of Labor and for consolidation as one big union.

—o:—

CAUCUS OUTLINES

LABOR PLATFORM

Charles Swayze, M.L.A., for Niagara Falls, Ont., will be the Labor whip in the Ontario Legislature, not Karl Homuth, M.L.A., for South Waterloo, as reported a short time ago. The selection of a whip was made on February 24 at a caucus of the Labor members at Toronto. It was decided that W. A. Crockett, M.L.A. for South Wentworth, would second the speech from the throne on behalf of the Labor group in the Legislature.

In connection with the Labor programme for the coming session, it was agreed to ask for the abolition of the property qualifications for candidates for municipal offices; for the appointment of a commission to investigate the feasibility of eight-hour legislation; for the mothers' pensions to include a mother who has only one child, and for the provincial government to bear the entire expense of administering mothers' pensions, instead of having the municipalities share in the expense, as suggested in the report recently presented to the Government.

Amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act wanted by the Labor members include an increase of the general compensation above the present 53 per cent; pensions to be paid to the widows of skilled workmen made equal, so that widows whose husbands were killed prior to April 1, last, get an equal amount to those widowed since then, instead of \$20 and \$30 a month, respectively, as under the act at present, that is, all to be paid \$30 a month.

OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

(From our own correspondent)

Glasgow, February 2d.

THE agenda for the annual conference of the Independent Labor Party, to be held at Glasgow early in April, contains a series of resolutions from branches relating to a proposal to affiliate to the third Moscow International. A lively discussion is expected. Southampton proposes that the National Administrative Council be instructed to submit a memorandum on the third International to all branches, and that a referendum be taken before affiliating.

Three branches have sent in resolutions to withdraw from the Geneva International and definitely to join the Moscow movement. Preston moves that in interpreting the paragraph in the Party's constitution dealing with the International, it shall be deemed that Moscow is the only Socialist international, and that the I. L. P. seek affiliation.

One branch proposes that the constitution of the Labor Party should be altered so as to make it

impossible for any member to accept office under any capitalist Government. Another branch resolution protests against "the inefficiency of the Parliamentary Labor Party and their failure to represent the interests of the working-class. A resolution from Stockport Central demands the immediate recognition of the Soviet Government and the establishment of normal relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. Shawlands calls for a campaign "in favor of direct action to bring down the Government and thus secure an immediate appeal to the country." Another proposal from Bargoed is: "That we endorse the policy of direct action for political and industrial questions." Two resolutions on the drink traffic advocate total prohibition. The City of London branch has tabled a motion protesting against the system of government by martial law in the Empire and "the shooting down of the civilian population in Ireland, India, Egypt and other parts."

The committee of Council on Education in Scotland has altered the constitution of the committees for the training of teachers, established in 1905. In place of these committees a single national committee for the training of teachers is to be established. The members to serve upon the national committee are to be elected on or before March 31, and a new election of the national committee, as far as practical and convenient, will take place within six months after each new election of the education authorities on a date to be fixed by the department.

The national committee is to meet at least once a year, and it has power to provide, whether by facilitating attendance at university classes or otherwise, courses of instructions suitable for the training or further instruction of teachers, including teachers for intermediate and secondary schools and for continuation classes, and subject to the approval of the department the national committee has power to acquire by purchase or lease suitable premises for the purpose and to provide the necessary apparatus and equipment. Subject to the approval of the department, it may also establish or subsidise on such conditions as may be agreed upon or more hostels for the residence of the students.

The national committee is to delegate the management of the existing centres at St. Andrews, including Dundee, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh to provincial committees for the training of teachers.

Gaieties of Glasgow

Glasgow folk find a great deal of pleasure in life, and they are throwing into their dancing, which has ever been a most popular diversion in the city, an unusual zest. A new fashion has sprung into existence. One of the leading tea-rooms in the city is thronged twice daily for an hour in the forenoon and another in the afternoon in what would otherwise be the slack times of the day, by young men and maidens, with a big sprinkling of elders, who are still young in tastes, all eager to see the latest in the terpsichorean art interpreted and exhibited by experts. A couple of American experts—brother and sister, Mr. Roger and Miss Alice McEwan are responsible for the innovation. They came to Scotland last summer for a holiday, but, having "struck oil", have remained on business. It occurred to them that they might be able to persuade some restaurateur of good repute that it might prove mutually beneficial if he were to engage them to give exhibitions in his rooms at times when business was unusually quiet. They were engaged by a firm of well-known caterers, who in one or other of their establishments provide opportunities for a dance each day of the week. The experiment was immediately successful, and it is no exaggeration to say that the exhibition had not

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been long in progress when crowds had to be turned away. The firm is now arranging to engage additional experts so as to introduce the thés dansants at their other establishments.

Subway Strike Over

The strike of the employees of the Glasgow Subway Company has now been settled, and the full service is again in operation. A meeting of representatives of the Company and the Workers' Union was held, when the offer of the employers of time and a half for all work after 48 hours and double time for Sundays, was accepted. These concessions will, it is understood, involve an increase of 6.19 per cent in wages. The Sunday service will commence in future at two o'clock, instead of four as formerly.

Cattle Trade Combine

The latest scheme for a trade combine comes from Scotland. It aims at the total control of the live stock supplies of Scotland and the partial control of those of England. The proposals, which have been submitted to the Scottish Live Stock Auctioneers and Salesmen's Association, involve acquisition of the entire interests of existing Scottish auction combines, the reduction of the marts now operating in Scotland from 125 to 70, and the elimination of private selling at auction marts. It has been suggested that the dividend should be

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limited to 10 per cent, and the remaining profits devoted in the direction of acquiring control of at least one-sixth of the English auction trade. The combine, it is suggested, should establish agents throughout the world for the purpose of "booming" British stock by advertising and giving prizes for pedigree animals imported from this country.

The management of the combine would be in the hands of representatives of the existing auction companies and of the National Farmers' Union of Scotland. By means of the reduction in marts it would be possible to dispense with a large proportion of the present staffs, and working expenses would thus be curtailed.

Farmers are not inclined to view favorably the monopoly which would result from a successful issue to the present negotiations. So far consumers have not had much opportunity of judging of the effects of the scheme on their interests, but the absolute control which it would give over live stock supplies, it is feared, will constitute a serious menace.

Journalists Arbitration

Sir Thomas Munro, the independent umpire in the arbitration between the National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Society, has now issued his award, the first of the kind in the history of journalism in this country. This states that the parties arrived at a mutual agreement on 1st January, 1919, under which the remuneration of the members of the National Union of Journalists is at present regulated. An attempt was made by the Union, in the autumn of 1919, to secure a modification of this agreement, but this was unsuccessful. The claim then put forward by the Union was for increased rates of remuneration considerably less than the claim now preferred, but it was based on the same arguments as now adduced, viz: (a) that the members of the Union have as a class always been under-remunerated, having regard to status, and (b) on account of the increase in the cost of living consequent on the war.

The Newspaper Society, not having been informed prior to the hearing on 20th January of the particulars of the claim then submitted had assumed and based their reply on the basis of the claim to be met being that put forward by the Union, in the autumn of 1919. As the reply of the Society to the claim submitted, in the autumn of 1919, was in effect, that the financial position of the newspapers that would be affected were such as precluded the acceptance of the claim, it is obvious that this consideration would be all the more pertinent to the objection to the substantially higher claims now put forward. The arbitrators and the umpire deemed it unnecessary to adjourn the hearing to enable the Newspaper Society to submit

further evidence or argument. The claim of the Union raised questions not dealt with in the agreement of 1st January, 1919. The arbitrators were agreed that the remit precluded consideration of such questions as it is confined to a claim for a modification of the said agreement.

"I concur in that view," says Sir Thomas, "subject to the following reservation:—The arbitrators were not agreed as to the position under the reference of the claim in respect of the London staffs of Provincial newspapers. It was on the one hand contended that as the agreement of 1st January, 1919, was silent on the point, this matter was excluded from the reference. On the other hand, it was contended that an arrangement affecting such staffs subsequently arrived at between parties must be read into the agreement. I reserve my final determination on this point, but I recommend the parties to endeavor to arrange the matter amicably, having regard to the whole circumstances of the case and to the general findings of the award. Failing an agreement being arrived at, I reserve to myself the power to issue a supplementary award on this aspect of the claim."

"As the case was presented, it falls to me to determine what, if any, increases should be made on the minimum rates of remuneration for the members of the Union fixed by the agreement of 1st January, 1919. In arriving at my decision, I am asked by the Union to have regard to the considerations already mentioned. In arriving at my decision, I have had regard to the fact that the parties will have an opportunity of reconsidering the whole position at the end of twelve months, by which date conditions, as they affect both the proprietors and the Union, may, it is hoped, be more stabilised than they are at present. I therefore modify the agreement of 1st January, 1919, to the following extent:—Minimum for weeklies, £4 per week; in towns where a daily paper is published, £4 5s. per week. Minimum for daily papers: In towns where the population is under 100,000, £4 13s. 6d.; over 100,000 and under 250,000, £4 18s. 6d.; in towns over 250,000, £5 4s. These rates are to be considered as minimum rates. These rates shall be paid retrospectively from 1st January, 1920."

This means that the arbitration has resulted in a £1 per week increase, but there is general disappointment, as many firms in the bigger towns are already paying much higher rates. The Scottish proprietors declined to submit to arbitration and they may be sorry for it now, as these new rates, apart from the weeklies, hardly affect the Scottish journalists. The Scottish members of the Union are now preparing a claim on a much higher rate, and this will be submitted to the Scottish proprietors on an early date.

James Gibson.

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We meet here today to enjoy and renew companionship with those others who, like ourselves, are endeavoring day by day, by thought and act, to bring to the minds of all people our idea of justice and love to all, and by this means build a surer foundation of a just social system.

THE SCHOOL SONG

True Brotherhood, to thee this day
We pledge ourselves in work and play,
That we may have in years to be
A world of love where men are free.

May we be taught as on we go,
The right from wrong to clearly know,
And who need help, the wide world through,
That we may judge what work to do.

Let "All for each and each for all"
Now be our pass-word and our call.
Then, by our aid, though small it prove,
This world of ours must upward move.

CLOSING DECLARATION

We leave here today, wanting more than ever to do whatever comes our way to make this a world of love and justice. May we be spurred onward by the thought that each one of us possesses the power to do something in this great work, and the more we do the sooner shall we have the kind of world we want.

Mothers' Pensions

What the British Labor Party Wants

(From "The Labor Woman",
London).

There is no one who has not at some time heard the pitiful story of the widow and her child faced with the terrible alternative of a pittance of outdoor relief from the Poor Law, or with the grief of having to separate the children from their mother so that they may be sent to a Poor Law school. Yet these are the present methods by which the community looks after its civilian widows and their dependents. In other cases mothers must go out to work for them or receive outdoor relief which is insufficient to keep the family, and she gets nothing for herself; while if the Poor Law takes some of her children from her, it usually considers that she can provide for at least one.

The Labor Party's policy was declared at its annual conference in 1918, and the resolution which was then passed read as follows:—

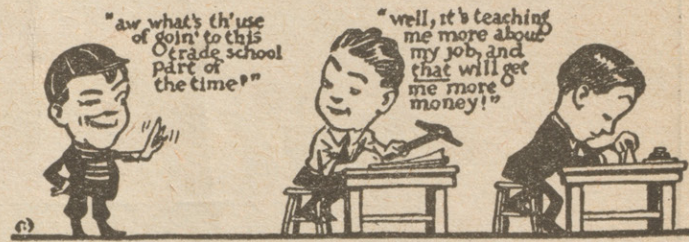
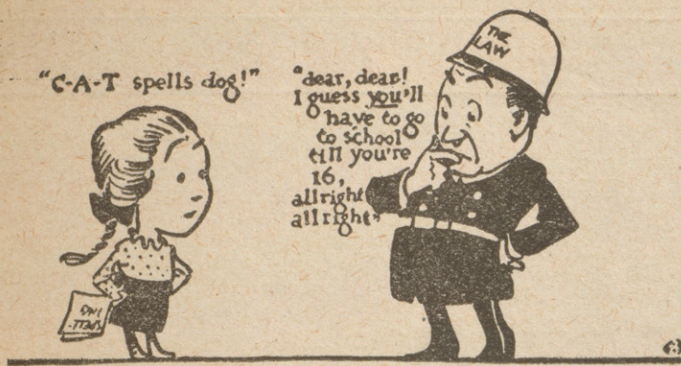
"That this conference welcomes the campaign for mothers' pensions, believing that pensions adequate to all widows with children or mothers whose family breadwinner has become incapacitated, and, further, that such persons should be paid by a committee of the Municipal or County Council wholly unconnected with the Poor Law."

This, of course, includes all the cases of women with children who have been bereft of their breadwinner, because the father is an invalid or the wife is separated from him

or has been deserted by him. It is clear that these families are just as much in need as the widows of proper provision and protection. The subject is one which is becoming now of great importance and we have in this matter comparison between the soldiers' and sailors' wives and children and those of civilian workers. It is important for the community to look after the welfare of all its children, and that the civilian's family should not be forced to the unpleasant alternative and inadequate attention of the Poor Law.

It is to be noted that provision for these classes is not intended in any way to oppose any wide proposals of child endowment, or a big scheme such as that of the national bonus. What is necessary is to provide for those children who would normally be cared for by their parents. When the father's earning power is lost by death or illness, or by his having thrown up his responsibilities and deserted his family, special provision is necessary for the children and their mother. It should be possible for a mother to stay at home and look after her children herself, instead of being forced into the labor market. The proposal is one which has received general consent, but public pressure is necessary if Parliament is to carry it out.

When the Labor Party introduced a resolution upon the subject last session the Coalition Members managed to talk it out without having a division, and though the Government at that time said they would consider the matter in reference to the proposed breaking up of the Poor Law no further steps have been taken. It will be necessary for Labor women all over the country to help Labor



WHEN YOU GO TO WORK

This young miss is learning that the Massachusetts law requires boys and girls to be able to read, write and spell English well enough to pass the sixth grade, or else go to regular day schools until they are sixteen and to evening schools until they are twenty-one. The pictures are examples of the graphic appeal made to parents and children by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, which has published an illustrated pamphlet, copyrighted by Richard K. Conant, describing the laws about child labor.

Pop the cynical guy! Ain't he tough, though? He's gettin' his from the chap with the cherubic smile, who knows the value of an education. "Many boys and girls are so foolish that they never ask what goes on in the place where they work and never learn anything that will get them ahead," says the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee. "Go to a trade school where you can learn how to work. Study and training for your position will double your wages, double your interest in your work, and lead you up to better and better positions."

members in Parliament to carry out their pledge upon the matter, and the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations has for some time been considering the subject. Their opinion is that whether the father has deserted his family or as a result of misconduct on his part is separated from his wife, the State should pay the pension, and require some payment from the father. The law in this matter certainly needs to be straightened and better enforced.

The Committee's view is that the pension should be the same as that paid to the dependents of soldiers and sailors, with provision made in order that this may be varied to meet any higher cost of living. The pension should be paid direct to the mother, and there should be no special inquisitory methods of inspecting a family. These mothers and children should be treated just like the rest of the population, and cases of child neglect should be dealt with through the ordinary courts. Where the reason for paying the pension is the permanent illness of the father it should become payable at the time when under the Insurance Act he is qualified for permanent disablement pay.

Another point to be dealt with is that of the remarriage of a widow, and it seems right that in such cases the pension for the mother should cease, but that for the children should continue. There has been a good deal of difference of opinion as to the right authority for administering the pensions. The balance is in favor of making the Ministry of Health the Central Authority and the local body of the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee. These bodies have under their charge the special interests of women and children, and seem likely to be the ones who would be the most helpful and have the greatest knowledge for dealing with such matters. A new Ministry to have charge of all cash

payments — old age pensions, mothers' pensions, and any payments taking the place of Poor Law relief — is wanted, but until it is established the Ministry of Health seems the best substitute.

Another question which has been discussed is the length of time to which a child should be entitled to a pension. The precedent with regard to the dependents of soldiers and sailors which may safely be followed is to treat every boy and girl as a child so long as they are receiving a full-time education, but in all cases until they have reached the age of 14.

There is, however, one problem which is far too important not to mention here. It is the question of the unmarried mother and her child. There have been great doubts as to whether she should be included, the main difficulty being the amount of public opposition that would be roused which might in the end prevent any pensions being obtained. While such an objection cannot be altogether overlooked, the subject is one which needs a little clear thought. It is for the child that the pension should be given, and those who have doubted should read a small book recently published by the Swarthmore Press, entitled "The Child She Bare". This little book is a very simple autobiography of a foundling, one of those children who are taken in at the Foundling Hospital in London and brought up without ever knowing their mothers. It is one of the simplest and at the same time one of the most tragic accounts of childhood that has ever been written, and all the more tragic because the institution itself was founded to help the unmarried mother and to help her baby, but the only help that can ever be given is the help which allows a child to grow up within the surroundings of a home and not of an institution. The horror of the infants in this great school is terrible reading to any of

those who in her own life can look back upon happy nursery days, and no doubt the reader wonders whether with the very best care anything much more could be made of such a huge institution than has been already done. Little things could be improved, the queer dress could be altered, the sending of the girls to domestic service improved, the food free of the duties, free access to drinking water, curtains to the dark and terrifying windows — all these would be improvements which may even in these later years have been made, but nothing could provide that sense of individual protection, the rough and tumble comfort of a home which takes so much of the terror of the unknown out of the small child's life.

If, however, the unmarried mother were to be given her chance she might make of her child something far better than can ever be done by anyone else. She could give it, if she is in receipt of a proper pension, something of that home which is irreplaceable by anyone else, and such a provision seems less likely to increase illegitimacy than to create a higher level of citizenship in which it would not be so likely to occur.

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